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G O D.'s W A Y S

O F

Disposing Kingdoms ;

A N D

Some C L E R G Y - M E N ' s W a y s , & c .

Utrum horum ;
O R,
G O D ' s W A Y S
O F
Disposing of K I N G D O M S :
A N D
Some C L E R G Y - M E N ' s W a y s
O F
Disposing of T H E M .

*Who is blind, but my servant? or deaf as my messenger that I sent?
Isa. 42. 19.*

The Prophets prophesie lies in my name, neither have I commanded them, neither spake unto them: They prophesie unto you a false vision, and divination, and a thing of nought, and the deceit of their heart, Jer. 14: 14.

O ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky, and can ye not discern the signs of the times? Matth. 16. 3.

L O N D O N :

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TO THE READER.

IT is the General sense of Mankind, That Discourses upon any Particular Government, ought to be grounded upon the Laws and Constitution of that Government: And it is a Position so clear in it self, that applied to any other thing whatsoever, the contrary will appear ridiculous. No man that were to build a Ship, would consult the Commentators upon the Book of Genesis for the Fabrick and Dimensions of Noah's Ark. Nor is Solomon's Temple made the Pattern of our Churches. Nor are the Laws of the Jews observ'd by any Christian Kingdom or State. And yet some late Divines, in their Discourses upon our Present Government, and the Settlement of the Nation under Their Majesties, and the Revolution that brought it about, do not confine themselves to our Laws, and Ancient Government, but broach Opinions of their own, or other Mens Invention, pretended to be grounded upon Scripture or Reason, to justify what has been done; and to persuade the People of England, that 'tis their duty to submit, and to plight their Allegiance to Their Majesties; or at least that it is lawful for them so to do. Whether the Grounds they proceed upon, are consonant to right Reason, the Laws of God, and of this Realm, or are not, is far from the Design of these following Papers to dispute. That which is aim'd at, being no more than to present the Reader with the Sense and Judgment of those who acted in the Revolution; and who contributed their Endeavours to settle the Nation after the Late King's withdrawing himself; with the Sense and Principles of some few Divines amongst us concerning these Matters.

If the latter run wide from the former, then it is to be feared, that those Gentlemen, who would seem to espouse the Interest of the Government, by putting Pen to Paper in Defence, or at least in

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excuse of it, do it more disservice, than if they had forbore the venting their Opinions: For it cannot but weaken a well-establish'd Government, to persuade the People under it, that it stands upon another Foundation than really it does; especially when that Foundation is not only contrary to the Sentiments of the Nation express'd, as will appear hereafter; but is really a Fiction of speculative Heads; and no better than the building of a Castle in the Air.

The Opposition will appear in a great measure by considering these few Particulars.

His Highness, the then Prince of Orange, declared, That his Expedition was intended for no other Design, but to have a Free and Lawful Parliament Assembled, for doing all things which the Two Houses should find necessary for the Peace, Honour and Safety of the Nation. To which Parliament he referred all things relating to the Succession: and promised to concur in every thing, that a Free and Lawful Parliament should determine.

They tell us of Sovereign Princes, Successes in Just Wars, and Appeals to God. Whereas the Prince of Orange was not actually a Sovereign Prince, being dispossest of his Principality: Nor made war upon the Nation, or so much as upon King James, but came over with an Army to enforce the sitting of a Free Parliament; to which Parliament he made his Appeal, and not to God; though as a Pious and Christian Prince, he relied on the blessing of God for the success of his Undertaking, in which he placed his whole, and only Confidence.

His Highness invited and required all Persons whatsoever; All the Peers of the Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal; All Lords Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenant, and all Gentlemen, Citizens, and other Commons of all Ranks, to come and assist him, in order to the executing of his said Design, against all such as should endeavour to oppose him. And accordingly great numbers actually did, and many more, say the body of the Nation would, if there had been occasion. And when the Government was settled, Their Majesties, with the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament, Enacted, That the Oath appointed by the Statute of

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13 Car. II. *Entituled, An Act for ordering the Forces of the severall Counties of this Kingdom; And also so much of a Declaration prescribed in another Act made in the same year, Entituled, An Act for the Uniformity of Publick Prayers, and Administration of the Sacraments, &c. as is expressed in these words, viz.*

I A. B. declare, That it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that Trayterous Position, of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are commissioned by him: *Should not from henceforth be required or enjoined.*

But these Gentlemen tell us, That notwithstanding the unreasonable Cavils of Gainsaying Men, Passive Obedience Hickman, *always was, and they hope, always will be, the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of England. That Kings are the only Persons upon Earth, unto whom God has given an immediate delegation of his Authority; whom to obey, is to obey his Ordinance; and whom to resist, is to resist his Power.*

They tell us, That the Church of England has been very careful to instruct her Children to obey their Princes Laws, Sherlock, *and submit to their Power, and not to resist, tho very injuriously oppress; and that those who renounce these Principles, renounce the Doctrine of the Church of England. That whatever Prince is settled in the Throne, is to be obeyed and revered as God's Minister, and not to be resisted. That the Church of England condemns all those wicked means by which Changes of Government are made.*

That Subjects have no right to make war without the leave of their Princes; for that, as God has given to St. Asaph, *Princes the Power of the Sword, so he has forbid it to Subjects under a great penalty; They that take the Sword, shall perish with the Sword.*

When the Lords and Commons met at Westminster, they grounded the Vacancy of the Throne upon the Late King's having subverted the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, and since withdrawn himself.

Whereas, according to these Gentlemens Notions, they ought
not

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not to have gone upon a Vacancy, but have recognized the Prince of Orange's Title to the Crown, as being already chosen thereunto by God, who had given him success in a Just War against King James. Tho it would have been a hard task for them to have brought the Queen in at that Door.

And whereas the Parliament that is now in being, recognized Their Present Majesties to be Rightful and Lawful King and Queen of this Realm, according to the Laws of the same. They ought to have acknowledged him King, as being set up by God, who is not bound by Humane Laws; and the Queen, as set up by God-knows who, who is not bound by Humane Laws neither: and at the same time to have own'd, that this Providence of God in setting up the King, and this Providence of God-knows-who, in setting up the Queen, does not take away the Legal Right of the Late King; but that he having a Legal Right, may assert and vindicate it, in opposition to the Providence of God, and the Providence of God-knows-who: and that all who are not under any obligation to Their Present Majesties, may lawfully assist him in order to the recovery of this Legal Right. Tho we, who are under an obligation to Their Present Majesties, are bound to obey them, by reason of the Events of the Providence of God, and of the Providence of God-knows-who.

Other Instances of this kind might be added; and it were a very easie matter to word some parts of the then Prince's Declaration, the Votes of Parliament, the Instrument of Government, and some few Laws made since the Settlement, as they ought to, and would have been worded, if the Prince, the Two Houses, and the People of England, had proceeded upon these Gentlemens Principles. But that I forbear, because it would seem scurrilous: I leave it to be the result of comparing the two Columns of these ensuing Papers.

In short, here's the Sense of the Legislative Body of the Realm, and of the People of England, set Cheek by Jowle with the Sense of a few Gentlemen of the Sacred Order; who would persuade us that our Government is drop'd out of the Skies, like the Image that fell down from Jupiter, or as the Egyptian Priests persuaded Alexander the Great, that he was the Son of their God, being convinced of it themselves, I suppose, by the Events of Providence, and his Success in a War, Just, or Unjust.

G O D's

God's Ways of Disposing of Kingdoms :

A N D

Some Clergy-mens Ways of Disposing of Them.

TH E Measures that were taken in the late King's Reign, for the introducing of Popery and Arbitrary Power, were so open and undisguised, That the most purblind amongst us, could not but see them; and all Protestants, that is, the whole Body of the People, were uneasy under their then present Circumstances, and dreadfully apprehensive of their future. Instead of enumerating the several Illegal Practices then on foot, to subvert the Establish'd Religion and Government; I shall insert *verbatim* the Declaration of his present Majesty, then Prince of Orange, which gives a true and lively Scheme of the Condition of the People of England, under King James his Government; and grounds the Lawfulness and Justice of his Arms, who had so near a concern in the Succession, upon the Obligation he was under for his Princess's, his Own, and the Nation's Interest, to interpose in order to their deliverance.

God's Ways of Disposing of Kingdoms.

Some Clergy-mens Ways of Disposing of Them.

The Declaration of his Highness, William Henry, by the Grace of God, Prince of Orange, &c. of the Reasons inducing him to appear in Arms in the Kingdom of England, for preserving of the Protestant Religion, and for restoring the Laws and Liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

A Discourse of God's Ways of Disposing of Kingdoms, &c.

Promotion cometh neither from the East, nor from the West, nor from the South.

But God is the Judge; He putteth down one, and setteth up another.

1. **I**T is both certain and evident to all men, That the Publick Peace and Happiness of any State or Kingdom, cannot be preserved, where

TWO things the Psalmist shews in the words of this Text.

First, The true Original of Power. This in David's time all men took

B

to

where the Laws, Liberties, and Customs, established by the *lawful Authority in it*, are openly transgressed and annulled: More especially where the Alteration of *Religion* is endeavoured, and that a *Religion* which is contrary to Law, is endeavoured to be introduced: Upon which those who are most immediately concerned in it, are indispensably bound to endeavour to preserve and maintain the Established Laws, Liberties, and Customs, and above all, the *Religion* and Worship of God that is established among them; and to take such an effectual care, that the Inhabitants of the said State or Kingdom, may neither be deprived of their *Religion*, nor of their Civil Rights: Which is so much the more necessary, because the Greatness and Security both of Kings, Royal Families, and of all such as are in Authority, as well as the Happiness of their Subjects and People, depend in a most especial manner, upon the exact Observation and Maintenance of these their Laws, Liberties, and Customs.

2. Upon these grounds it is, that we cannot any longer forbear to declare, That to our great Regret, we see that those Counsellors, who have now the chief Credit with the King, have overturned the *Religion*, Laws and Liberties of those Realms, and subjected them in all things relating to their Consciences, Liberties, and Properties, to Arbitrary Government, and that not only by secret and indirect ways, but in an open and undisguised manner.

3. Those

to be from Heaven, but from whom there, many knew not. The *Eastern Nations*, who were generally given to Astrology, took it to come from their Stars; and especially from the Sun, which was the chief Object of their Worship. The *Psalmist* tells them, No. *Promotion cometh not that way*: Neither from the Planets rising, nor setting, nor from its exaltation in Mid-Heaven. That's the meaning of the words,

from the East, nor from the West, nor from the South.

But Wise-men come out of the East; tho' Promotion come from the North: They are not Country-men.

From the North of the Zodiac, or from ~~from~~ the hidden part under the Horizon, they never thought it to come. And (as some think) that's the reason why that part of Heaven is not mention'd.

But the *Psalmist* might have another Reason to himself, why he did not think fit to say, it comes not from the North. For there (as he saith elsewhere) *on the North-side of Jerusalem was Mount Sion, the City of the great King of Heaven and Earth*. There in *David's* time was the Tabernacle, and afterwards there was the Temple, in which the Mercy-seat between the Cherubims was the place of the Symbolical Presence of God. p. 2, 3.

Could *David* say, *Promotion* comes not from thence? No, he saith the contrary in the following words; *for God is the Judge*: plainly shewing, that to him Kings owe their Authority. But

Secondly,

3. Those Evil Counsellors, for the advancing and colouring this with some plausible pretexts, did invent and set on foot the King's *Dispensing Power*; by Virtue of which they pretend, that according to *Law*, he can *suspend* and *dispense* with the Execution of the *Laws* that have been enacted by the *Authority of the King and Parliament*, for the Security and Happiness of the Subject, and so have rendred those *Laws* of no effect; tho there is nothing more certain, than that *as no Laws can be made, but by the joynt concurrence of King and Parliament, so likewise Laws so enacted, which secure the Publick Peace, and Safety of the Nation, and the Lives and Liberties of every Subject in it, cannot be Repealed or Suspended, but by the same Authority.*

4. For tho the King may pardon the Punishment that a Transgressor has incurred, and to which he is condemned, as in the Cases of *Treason* or *Felony*; yet it cannot be with any colour of Reason inferred from thence, That the King can entirely suspend the Execution of those *Laws* relating to *Treason* or *Felony*; unless it is pretended, that he is clothed with a Despotick and Arbitrary Power; and that the Lives, Liberties, Honours, and Estates of the Subjects, depend wholly on his good Will and Pleasure, and are intirely subject to him; which must infallibly follow, on the King's having a power to suspend the Execution of the *Laws*, and to dispence with them.

5. Those

Secondly, It is to him as *Judge*. He gives it Judicially. And so to him they are to account for it. p. 4.

'Tis the Prerogative of God, by which He acts, both in the disposing, and also in the transferring of Kingdoms.

The work God in bringing His Majesty into this Kingdom, was truly God's making use of the latter branch of his Prerogative, *in putting down one, and setting up another.* p. 5.

The Powers that be, are of God: That is, the several Kingdoms and States, even all that are in the World, all have their Authority from God.

I. This at first was from God, we are sure, because it was from the beginning of Mankind. The first Men that were born into the World, were all of *Adam's* Family. p. 7.

Noah was the Father of all them that liv'd after the Flood.

When the Fathers or Heads of some of those Nations made Conquests upon one another, as *Nimrod* did on the Nations about him, who was therefore call'd *a mighty hunter before the Lord*; or when they were otherwise incorporated together; these made the ancient great Monarchies, whereof the *Assyrian* and *Egyptian* are famous in Ancient History.

Other of those Nations, or rather great Families, continu'd in their ancient way of Patriarchal Government. Particularly in that Line out of which God chose his peculiar People; *Abraham* was *a mighty Prince* in his days: But all his Subjects were of his Family, out of which proceeded *many Nations*. From his Son *Isaac*

5. Those Evil Counsellors, in order to the giving some Credit to *this strange and execrable Maxim*, have so conducted the Matter, that they have obtained a Sentence from the Judges, declaring, That this *Dispensing Power* is a Right belonging to the *Crown*; as if it were in the power of the Twelve Judges to offer up the Laws, Rights, and Liberties of the whole Nation, to the King, to be disposed of by him Arbitrarily and at his Pleasure, and expressly contrary to Laws enacted for the Security of the Subjects. In order to the obtaining this Judgment, those Evil Counsellors did before-hand examine secretly the Opinion of the Judges, and procured such of them as could not in Conscience concur in so pernicious a Sentence, to be turned out, and others to be substituted in their rooms, till by the Changes which were made in the Courts of Judicature, they at last obtained that Judgment. And they have raised some to those Trusts, who make open profession of the Popish Religion, tho' those are by Law rendred incapable of all such Employments.

6. It is also manifest and notorious, That as his Majesty was upon his coming to the Crown, received and acknowledged by all the Subjects of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, as their King, without the least Opposition, tho' he made then open Profession of the *Popish Religion*; so he did then promise, and solemnly swear at his Coronation, That he would maintain his Subjects

there came *two Nations of People*; one of them by *Esau*, Father of *Edom*, the other by *Jacob*, the Father of *Israel*; who for their times also govern'd those Families or Nations.

When *Jacob* and all his Family went down into *Egypt*, there ended their Patriarchal Government. After which, being Subjects to the King of that Country, they were brought into a long and sore Bondage, which made their Lives bitter to them for many Generations.

2. From this God deliver'd them by the hand of *Moser*. And to shew them how they ought to value this mercy, from thence he entitled himself to be their King, and dated the beginning of his Reign.

3. This *Theocracy*, as we call it, continu'd from their coming up out of *Egypt*, till such time as God, at his Peoples desire, gave them a King to judge them like all the Nations. p. 8, 9.

God was pleas'd so far to grant his Peoples Request, that they should be an Hereditary Kingdom: But for the first King of the reigning Line, God would have the choosing of him himself. And accordingly, first he chose *Saul*.

I thought the People had chosen him by lot. at Mizpah.

Then God made choice of *David*, a man after his own heart.

I thought the People had chosen David too.

There was no other standing Government in that Nation, which God chose to be his peculiar People, but what was administered by single Persons. And those Persons Title to the Government was either Patriarchal

jects in the free Enjoyment of their Laws and Liberties ; and in particular , That he would maintain the *Church of England as it was Establish'd by Law* : It is likewise certain, That there have been at divers and sundry times, several Laws enacted for the Preservation of those Rights and Liberties, and of the Protestant Religion ; and among other Securities, it has been enacted, That all Persons whatsoever, that are advanced to any Ecclesiastical Dignity, or to bear Office in either University, as likewise all other that should be put in any Employment, Civil or Military, should declare that they were not Papists, but were of the Protestant Religion, and that by their taking of the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and the *Test*, yet these Evil Counsellors have in effect annulled and abolished all those Laws, both with relation to Ecclesiastical and Civil Employments.

7. In order to Ecclesiastical Dignities and Offices, they have not only, without any colour of Law, but against most express Laws to the contrary, set up a Commission of a certain number of persons, to whom they have committed the Cognizance and Direction of all Ecclesiastical matters ; in the which Commission there has been, and still is one of his Majesties Ministers of State, who makes now publick profession of the Popish Religion, and who at the time of his first professing it, declared, That for a great while before, he had believed that to be the only true Religion. By all this,

triarchal, or by Divine nomination : Both which ways of coming into Power were so wholly of God, that the People had nothing to do, but to accept the Choice of God, and to submit to it.

II. In other Nations indeed, that did not keep up the Patriarchal Right, there the Peoples Consent was required, except in the Case of Conquest. p. 10, 11.

And this Consent being merely an humane Act, it may seem that the Authority it gives, is not, as we are here taught, from God only.

But we are to consider by what Motives it is, that the People are generally led, to chuse any one to rule over them. All their Motives may be reduc'd to these two ; either Merit, or Favour. If there be any other, they are but Compositions of these.

I. The first Choice of Kings I conceive to have been made on account of Merit, the People being led to it by a sense of the Benefits they had receiv'd. I judge so from that which having been already shewn, I take now for granted, that the Earth was peopled at first by great Families. Now when those, by oppression of powerful Neighbours, or by Civil Discord among themselves, came to be in great distress, such as made them see the necessity of being united in greater Bodies for their own preservation ; those Heroic Men, that shew'd them the way of it, and that brought them under Government and Laws, these were called the FOUNDERS of the Nations. Such was *Moses* among the People.

this, the deplorable State to which the Protestant Religion is reduced, is apparent, since the Affairs of the Church of *England* are now put into the hands of persons who have accepted of a Commission that is manifestly illegal, and who have executed it contrary to all Law; and that now one of their chief Members has abjured the *Protestant Religion*, and declared himself a *Papist*; by which he is become incapable of holding any publick Employment. The said Commissioners have hitherto given such proof of their Submission to the Directions given them, that there is no reason to doubt, but they will still continue to promote all such designs as will be most agreeable to them. And those Evil Counsellors take care to raise none to any Ecclesiastical Dignities, but persons that have no Zeal for the *Protestant Religion*, and that now hide their unconcernedness for it, under the specious pretence of *Moderation*. The said Commissioners have suspended the Bishop of *London*, only because he refused to obey an Order that was sent him, to suspend a worthy Divine, without so much as citing him before him to make his own Defence, or observing the common forms of Process. They have turned out a President chosen by the Fellows of *Magdalen-College*, and afterwards all the Fellows of that College, without so much as citing them before any Court that could take legal Cognizance of that Affair, or obtaining any Sentence against them by a competent Judge.

And

People of *Israel*. When he had brought them out of *Egypt*, they own'd this as a Title to Government, that he would have had, even without Divine Nomination. Such was *Cecrops* among the *Athenians*, and *Romulus* among the *Romans*, and other first Kings in other Nations.

p. 11, 12.

Next to these, and something like them, were the first Planters of Colonies: Such as *Cadmus* was at *Thebes*, *Æneas* in *Latium*, and the like. In *England* such were *Hengist*, and the rest that began the Seven Kingdoms of the *Saxon* Heptarchy. From one of these, namely, from *Cerdic*, King of the *West-Saxons*, the Descent of our Royal Family is unquestionable.

*But not in
the Right
Line, Sir,
under fa-
vour.*

But the most like to Founders are they whom God raises up to be the Restorers and Deliverers of a People, when they are either brought low by Tyranny and Oppression, or when they are torn in pieces by Factions among themselves. p. 12, 13.

Thus when the *Roman* State, being torn by a long Civil War, had even bled it self to death, (it had certainly expir'd, if it had been left to it self) *Augustus* came in, and not only bound up the Wounds, but put, as it were, a new Soul into the Body; He made it not only live, but flourish, by his great Care and Wisdom, and Industry; which so oblig'd the People, that they even forc'd him to accept of the Empire. These were such Benefits to Mankind, as whosoever was enabled to do, it was

And the only reason that was given for turning them out, was their refusing to chuse for their President, a person that was recommended to them, by the Instigation of those Evil Counsellors, tho' the Right of a Free Election belong'd undoubtedly to them. But they were turned out of their Free-holds contrary to Law, and to that express provision in the *Magna Charta*, *That no man shall lose Life or Goods, but by the Law of the Land*. And now these Evil Counsellors have put the said College wholly into the hands of Papists; tho', as is abovesaid, they are incapable of all such Employments, both by the Law of the Land, and the Statutes of the College. These Commissioners have also cited before them all the Chancellors and Archdeacons of *England*, requiring them to certify to them the Names of all such Clergy-men as have read the King's Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*, and of such as have not read it, without considering that the reading of it was not enjoined the Clergy by the Bishops who are their Ordinaries. The Illegality and Incompetency of the said Court of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners was so notoriously known, and it did so evidently appear, that it tended to the Subversion of the *Protestant Religion*, that the most Reverend Father in God, *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate and Metropolitan of all *England*, seeing that it was raised for no other end, but to oppress such persons as were of eminent Virtue, Learn-

as if God had put a Glory about his Head; it so markt him out to the People, that they could not go beside him in their Choice; they took him as one already chosen of God. p. 13.

No; they took him as a successful Tyrant, whom they had not power to withstand. The Romans did not understand our new-coin'd Choice of God. And if our Regency-men had known that the Prince of Orange was chosen of God, they would not have voted as they did.

In those Kingdoms wherein the Succession is continued by a new Election upon every Vacancy, or wherein a new Election is made upon the Extinguishing of the Royal Family, the person on whom the Election falls in either case, owes his promotion to God, from whom it comes the same way to him, as it came to his first Predecessor in that Kingdom. p. 16.

In all sorts of Government, as the Sovereign Power in every Country or Nation is of God, so they that are invested with it, whether one or many, are in the place of God, and have their Promotion from him.

The Transferring of this Power from one to another, is the Act of God. And this he does, proceeding Judicially, as being Judge. p. 17.

First, God does this: Secondly, He does it Judicially.

For the first of these, God has such an Interest in the disposing of power, as none can pretend to but himself.

Men have their part in setting up what

Learning and Piety, refused to sit, or to concur in it.

8. And tho there are many express Laws against all Churches or Chappels for the exercise of the Popish Religion, and also against all Monasteries and Convents, and more particularly against the Order of the *Jesuits*; yet those Evil Counsellors have procured orders for the building of several Churches and Chappels for the exercise of that Religion. They have also procured divers Monasteries to be erected, and in contempt of the Law, they have not only set up several Colleges of *Jesuits* in divers places, for the corrupting of the Youth, but have raised up one of the Order to be a Privy-Counsellor, and a Minister of State. By all which they do evidently shew, That they are restrained by no rules of Law whatsoever, but that they have subjected the Honours and Estates of the Subjects, and the Establish'd Religion, to a Despotick Power, and to Arbitrary Government. In all which they are served and seconded by those Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

9. They have also followed the same Methods with relation to Civil Affairs; for they have procured orders to examine all Lords Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, and all others that were in any publick Employment, if they would concur with the King in the Repeal of the *Test* and *Penal Laws*, and all such whose Consciences did not suffer them to comply with their designs, were turned out

what they cannot put down again. It is a Woman's Consent makes a Man be her Husband; the Fellows of a College chuse one to be their Head; a Corporation chuse one to be their Mayor: All these do only chuse the person, they do not give him the Authority. It is the Law that gives that, and that Law so binds their hands, that they cannot undo what they have done.

No more can a Nation undo its own Act, in chusing Men into Sovereign power. I do not say but they may chuse Men into Government, expressly with that Condition, That they shall be accountable to the people; and then the Government remains in the Body of the Nation, it is that which we properly call a Commonwealth. But for Sovereign Princes and Kings, even where they are chosen by the Nation; and much more in Hereditary Kingdoms; as they have their Authority from God, so they are only accountable to him. For he is *the only Potentate, King of kings, and Lord of lords*. He alone both makes Kings by his Sovereign Power, and by the same he can unmake them when he pleases. p.18,19.

Nay, more than so, *He puts down one, and sets up another*. Both the Words imply something of an high place, and here they are used of Civil Government or Dominion. Of this it is said, That God so deprives one of it, as that he advances another in his stead.

This can be understood of nothing else but the Conquest of one Prince

out, and others were put in their places, who, they believed, would be more compliant to them in their Designs of defeating the Intent and Execution of those Laws which had been made with so much care and caution for the security of the *Protestant Religion*. And in many of these places they have put profess'd Papists, tho' the Law has disabled them, and warranted the Subjects not to have any regard to their Orders.

10. They have also invaded the Privileges, and seized on the Charters of most of those Towns that have a right to be represented by their Burgeſſes in Parliament, and have procured Surrenders to be made of them, by which the Magistrates in them have delivered up all their Rights and Privileges, to be disposed of at the pleasure of those Evil Counsellors, who have thereupon placed new Magistrates in those Towns, such as they can most entirely confide in; and in many of them they have put Popish Magistrates, notwithstanding the Incapacities under which the Law hath put them.

11. And whereas no Nation whatsoever can subsist without the administration of good and impartial Justice, upon which mens Lives, Liberties, Honours and Estates do depend, those Evils Counsellors have subjected these to an Arbitrary and Despotick Power: In the most important Affairs they have studied to discover before-hand the Opinions of the Judges, and have turned out such as they found would not conform themselves to their Intentions, and have

Prince over another. For what one resigns by a Voluntary Act, he is said to lay down, or to give it up to another. But *putting down* is the Act of a Superior, by which one's place is taken from him against his Will. Now God being the Superior that does this by the Act of his Providence, it must be such an Act as gives the Power from *one* against his Will, to *another* whom God is pleased to set up in his stead. Thus in giving *one* Prince a Conquest over *another*, he thereby puts one in Possession of the other's Dominions, he makes the other's Subjects become his Subjects, or his Slaves, accordingly as they come in upon Conditions, or at the Will of the Conqueror. In short, he giveth him the whole Right and Power of the other Prince. p. 18, 19, 20.

When those Kings, that living in a *settled Kingdom*, will not govern according to the Laws thereof; it is a breach of Faith, not only to their people, but to God also, where they are sworn to the observing of Laws. And though they are not therefore to be deposed by the people, yet they cannot escape the vengeance of God, who ordinarily punishes them with the natural effects of their Sin.

On the other hand, if a Prince will have no Law but his Will, if he tramples and oppresseth his people, their patience will not hold out always, they will at one time or other shew themselves to be but Men. At least they will have no heart to fight for their Oppressor. So that if

have put others in their places, of whom they were more assured, without having any regard to their Abilities. And they have not stuck to raise even professed Papists to the Courts of Judicature, notwithstanding their Incapacity by Law ; and that no regard is due to any Sentences flowing from them. They have carried this so far, as to deprive such Judges, who in the common administration of Justice, shewed that they were governed by their Consciences, and not by the Directions which the others gave them. By which it is apparent, that they design to render themselves the absolute Masters of the Lives, Honours and Estates of the Subjects, of what rank or dignity soever they may be ; and that without having any regard either to the Equity of the Cause, or to the Consciences of the Judges, whom they will have to submit in all things to their own Will and Pleasure ; hoping by such ways to intimidate those who are yet in Employment, as also such others, as they shall think fit, to put in the rooms of those whom they have turned out ; and to make them see what they must look for, if they should at any time act in the least contrary to their good liking ; and that no failings of that kind are pardoned in any Persons whatsoever. A great deal of Blood has been shed in many places of the Kingdom, by Judges governed by those Evil Counsellors, against all the Rules and Forms of Law, without so much as suffering the Persons that were accused to plead in their own Defence.

12. They

a Foreign Enemy breaks in upon him, he is gone without remedy, unless God interpose. But how can that be, when God is Judge himself? Should the Judge hinder the doing of Justice? It is God's Work that Foreigners come to do, *Hombeit he meaneth not so*. He means nothing, perhaps, but the satisfying of his own Lust. But though he knoweth it not; he is sent in God's Message ; for which all things being prepared by Natural Causes, and God not hindring his own Work, but rather hastning it ; no wonder that it succeeds, and that oftentimes very easily. p.24,25.

When it happens (as it doth sometimes, and that especially for the Sins of a Nation), that they come to be under weak or wicked Kings ; even these they must not resist, God hath taught them otherwise. What then? Must they be left to the Wills of these Tyrants? Or of them that govern weak Kings, which is commonly worse? Must they endure all the load of Oppression that these will lay upon them? That is, For a few Mens pleasure, must a Nation be made miserable? This is far from God's design in the Institution of Government. He makes Kings his *Ministers for the good* of their People. If any will take that Office upon them, they must behave themselves accordingly. Otherwise, if they take it as given them only for themselves, it is such a breach of Trust, that God cannot but punish them for it. But how should he do this, so as that the punish-

12. They have also, by putting the Administration of Justice in the hands of Papists, brought all the Matters of Civil Justice into great uncertainties; with how much Exactness and Justice soever that these Sentences may have been given. For since the Laws of the Land do not only exclude Papists from all Places of Judicature, but have put them under an Incapacity; none are bound to acknowledge, or to obey their Judgments, and all Sentences given by them are null and void of themselves: So that all Persons who have been cast in Tryals before such Popish Judges, may justly look on their pretended Sentences as having no more force than the Sentences of any private and unauthorised Person whatsoever. So deplorable is the Case of the Subjects, who are obliged to answer to such Judges, that must in all things stick to the Rules which are set them by those Evil Counsellors, who as they raised them up to those Employments, so can turn them out of them at pleasure; and who can never be esteemed Lawful Judges; so that all their Sentences are in the Construction of the Law, of no Force and Efficacy. They have likewise disposed of all Military Employments, in the same manner: For tho the Laws have not only excluded Papists from all such Employments, but have in particular provided, that they should be disarmed; yet they, in contempt of these Laws, have not only armed the Papists, but have likewise raised them up to the great-

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punishment may have its effect, in warning others not to transgress in like manner? He cannot do this better, than by making Men his Instruments in it. And therefore it is that God, tho he has infinite ways, yet commonly chuses to employ Men in this Service. He either finds them at home, that are *not afraid of the Power, as they ought to be*; or he brings them in from Foreign Countries, *Whistling for the Fly out of Egypt, or the Bee out of the land of Assyria*: In plain words, stirring up a *Pharaoh*, or a *Nebuchadnezzar* against them. God may employ such if he will, tho none is too good for this work, to execute his righteous Judgments. And when God doth his work by their hands, whatsoever the Instruments may be, the Cause being so just, and so evident as we have supposed; *All men that see it, will say, Doubtless there is a God that judges on the earth.*

In the way of Justice, God acts as a Judge between Two Sovereign Powers, when they bring their Causes before him; that is, when they make War upon one another. And when he seeth his time, that is, when he finds the Cause ripe for Judgment, if it proceeds so far, then he gives Sentence for him that is injur'd, against him that hath done the Injury. The effect of this Sentence is a just Conquest; and that is the other way in which God, proceeding judicially, *pats down one, and sets up another.*

But the Pr. of Orange was not a Sovereign Power; being dispossessed of his Principality.

est Military Trust, both by Sea and Land, and that Strangers as well as Natives, and *Irish* as well as *English*, that so by those means, having rendered themselves Masters both of the Affairs of the Church, of the Government of the Nation, and of the Courts of Justice, and subjected them all to a Despotick and Arbitrary Power, they might be in a capacity to maintain and execute their wicked Designs, by the assistance of the Army, and thereby to enslave the Nation.

13. The dismal effects of this Subversion of the Established Religion, Laws and Liberties in *England*, appear more evidently to us, by what we see done in *Ireland*; where the whole Government is put in the Hands of Papists, where all the Protestant Inhabitants are under the daily fears of what may be justly apprehended from the Arbitrary Power which is set up there: which has made great numbers of them leave that Kingdom, and abandon their Estates in it, remembering well that Cruel and Bloody Massacre which fell out in that Island in the Year 1641.

14. Those Evil Counsellors have also prevailed with the King to declare in *Scotland*, That he is clothed with *Absolute Power*, and that all the Subjects are bound to obey him without reserve: upon which he has assumed an Arbitrary Power both over the Religion and Laws of that Kingdom; from all which it is apparent, what is to be looked for in *England*, as soon as matters are duly prepared for it.

15. Those

That this may be the better understood, there are four things to be consider'd particularly.

First, That War is an Appeal to the Justice of God.

Secondly, That none can be Parties to this, but they that are in Sovereign Power.

Thirdly, That to make it a just War, there must be a just and sufficient Cause.

Fourthly, That Conquest in such a War, is a decisive Judgment of God, and gives one a Right to the Dominions that he has conquered from the other.

That War is an Appeal to God; this appears in the nature of the thing. p. 25, 26, 27, 28.

The Parties to this Appeal, are properly such as have no Superior but God. For them that have an earthly Superior, their Appeal lies to him as *God's Minister, attending continually on this very thing.* p. 29.

Subjects have no Right to make War, without the leave of their Princes. For as God has given Princes the power of the Sword, so he forbids it to Subjects, under a great Penalty, *They that take the Sword shall perish with the Sword.* And if he has not admitted them to be Parties in his Court, then it is certain that they cannot sue there; or if they do, they can acquire no Right by it. There is an Original Nullity in all their Proceedings.

As none have right of making War, but they that are in Sovereign Power, so neither is it given to them that they may make what use of

15. Those great and insufferable Oppressions, and the open Contempt of all Law, together with the Apprehensions of the sad Consequences that must certainly follow upon it, have put the Subjects under great and just Fears; and have made them look after such lawful Remedies as are allowed of in all Nations: yet all has been without effect. And those Evil Counsellors have endeavoured to make all Men apprehend the loss of their Lives, Liberties, Honours, and Estates, if they should go about to preserve themselves from this Oppression, by Petition, Representations, or other means authorised by Law. Thus did they proceed with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other Bishops, who having offered a most humble Petition to the King, in terms full of Respect, and not exceeding the number limited by Law, in which they set forth in short, the Reasons for which they could not obey that Order, which, by the Instigation of those Evil Counsellors, was sent them, requiring them to appoint their Clergy to read in their Churches the Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*; were sent to Prison, and afterwards brought to a Tryal, as if they had been guilty of some enormous Crime. They were not only obliged to defend themselves in that pursuit, but to appear before professed Papists, who had not taken the Test, and by consequence were Men whose Interest led them to condemn them; and the Judges that gave their Opinion in their favours, were thereupon turned out.

16. And

of it they please: Particularly, they must not make War for the satisfying of their Lusts, Ambition, Covetousness, Vain-glory, or the like. Nay, the righteous God will not hold him guiltless that hath Justice in his Cause, and yet in his Heart hath no such thing. Lawful things must be done lawfully. This Princes must look to, as they will answer it to God.

But as far as man can judge, it is a Lawful War that is made for a just and sufficient Cause. p. 32. 33.

One Prince may make War in defence of another King's Subjects, if they see themselves in extreme danger of suffering an intolerable Injury by his Oppression of his own people. And in these cases, if one Lawfully may, then it is certain he ought to do it. p. 36.

They are so much the more obliged to this, when it is evident, that the threatening mischief is like to fall upon others, as well as themselves; and them, such as they are bound in Honour and Conscience to protect and support. When by sitting still they should certainly expose, not only themselves to be ruined, but also their Friends and Allies to perish with them; in that case, *Sevitia est voluisse mori*, it is a sort of bloody Peaceableness, it is cruelty to Mankind to go to that degree of suffering Injuries.

But especially, when the Cause of God is concern'd, to whom we owe all things, and ought to venture all for his sake. Surely 'tis his Cause, when it touches Religion; which is

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16. And yet it cannot be pretended, that any Kings, how great soever their Power has been, and how Arbitrary and Despotick soever they have been in the exercise of it, have ever reckoned it a Crime for their Subjects to come in all Submission and Respect, and in a due number, not exceeding the limits of the Law, and represent to them the Reasons that made it impossible for them to obey their Orders. Those Evil Counsellors have also treated a Peer of the Realm as a Criminal, only because he said, That the Subjects were not bound to obey the Orders of a Popish Justice of Peace; though it is evident, that they being by Law rendred incapable of all such Trusts, no regard is due to their Order. This being the security which the People have by the Law for their Lives, Liberties, Honours and Estates, That they are not to be subjected to the Arbitrary Proceedings of Papists, that are contrary to Law, put into any Employment Civil or Military.

17. Both We our selves, and our Dearest and most Entirely Beloved Consort the Princess, have endeavoured to signify, in terms full of respect to the King, the just and deep Regret which all these Proceedings have given us; and in Compliance with his Majesty's Desires signified to us, We declared both by Word of Mouth, to his Envoy, and in Writing, what our Thoughts were touching the Repealing of the *Test and Penal Laws*; which we did in such a manner, that

we

all that is dear to him in this world. And tho Religion it self teaches us, *if it be possible, as much as in us lies, to live peaceably with all men*; yet as 'tis there supposed, there may be Cause to break the Peace; so it adds infinitely to that Cause, when it comes to concern our Religion. *p.36, 37.*

There is yet a greater Cause for this, when the Suffering Religion is that which is establish'd by the Laws of that Kingdom; and yet the King that is sworn to those Laws, and therefore bound to support that Religion, is manifestly practising against it, and endeavours to supplant, and oppress, and extinguish it. What should other Princes or States that profess the same Religion, do in this case? They see that such a King is set upon the destroying of their Religion. He hath declar'd a hostile mind towards the professors of it, in judging them not capable of enjoying their Temporal Rights. If he deals thus with his own People, what are Foreigners to expect at his hands? Can they think themselves secure, because they are at peace with him? They cannot; unless Treaties are more Sacred than Laws. Or can they rely upon his Oath? But they see he hath broken it. And therefore they have reason to judge, That either he makes no Conscience of an Oath, or he thinks Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks, or he hath a Superior that can dispense with him, or that will absolve him from the guilt of Perjury in such cases where Religion is concerned. In short, they are sure of

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we hoped we had proposed an Expedient by which the Peace of those Kingdoms, and a happy Agreement among the Subjects of all Persuasions, might have been settled : but those Evil Counsellors have put such ill Constructions on these our good Intentions, that they have endeavoured to alienate the King more and more from us ; as if We had designed to disturb the Quiet and Happiness of the Kingdom.

18. The last and great Remedy for all those Evils, is *the calling of a Parliament*, for securing the Nation against the evil Practices of those wicked Counsellors : But this could not be yet compassed, nor can it be easily brought about. For those Men apprehending, that a Lawful Parliament being once assembled, they would be brought to an account for all their open Violations of Law, and for their Plots and Conspiracies against the Protestant Religion, and the Lives, and Liberties of the Subject, they have endeavoured, under the specious Pretence of *Liberty of Conscience*, first to sow Divisions among Protestants, between those of the *Church of England* and the *Dissenters* : The design being laid to engage Protestants, that are all equally concerned, to preserve themselves from Popish Oppression, into mutual Quarrellings, that so by these, some Advantages might be given to them to bring about their Designs ; and that both in the Election of the Members of Parliament, and afterwards in the Parliament it self. For they see

well.

his Will to destroy them, and cannot be sure of his Oath to the contrary. Wherein then can they be safe ? But in his want of power to do them hurt ? But he will not want power, if they let him go on, for he is getting it as fast as he can. He is now strengthening himself by those ways that he takes to be absolute Lord of his own people : And he is now weakening Them, by oppressing all those among his people, whom he knows to be their Friends and Well-wishers. He doth both these things together : He daily lessens their party, and makes them as many more Enemies, as he gains Men over to his Religion. And if that be such a Religion as pretends to a Right of destroying Men of other Religions ; knowing this, they know what they are to expect. When this pretended Right is armed with power, it will certainly fall upon them. So that they must begin before he is ready for them, or else it will be too late to do any thing for their own preservation.

But as it is necessary for them to do this for themselves, so they ought to do it much the rather for the sakes of their oppressed Brethren : That, by a timely asserting of their own Right, they may also deliver them from the Evils they suffer at present, and save them from that Destruction which is coming upon them. As it was just and necessary on those former Accounts, so this makes it a pious Cause, and therefore the more worthy of a true

Christi-

well, that if all Protestants could enter into a mutual good understanding one with another, and concur together in the preserving of their Religion, it would not be possible for them to compass their wicked Ends. They have also required all Persons in the several Counties of *England*, that either were in any Employment, or were in any considerable Esteem, to declare before-hand that they would concur in the Repeal of the *Test and Penal Laws*; and that they would give their Voices in the Elections to Parliament, only for such as would concur in it; such as would not thus preengage themselves, were turned out of all Employments; And others who entred into those Engagements, were put into their places, many of them being Papists: And contrary to the Charters and Privileges of those Burroughs that have a Right to send Burgessees to Parliament, they have ordered such Regulations to be made, as they thought fit and necessary, for assuring themselves of all the Members that are to be chosen by those Corporations: and by this means they hope to avoid that Punishment which they have deserved; tho it is apparent, that all Acts made by Popish Magistrates are null and void of themselves: So that no Parliament can be Lawful, for which the Elections and Returns are made by Popish Sheriffs and Mayors of Towns; and therefore as long as the Authority and Magistracy is in such hands, it is not possible to have any Lawful Parliament. And tho according

Christian Prince. It has been judg'd so by them whose Names we have in great Veneration. We have the Examples of our own Princes here in *England*, in the best of Times since the Reformation: These the Reader may find collected to his hand, in an excellent Book that hath been lately published. But this may as well be shewn in the Examples of them whom our Princes chose to follow as their Paterns; namely, of the Christians in Primitive Times, and especially at the time of the first *Nicene Council*. In these times we find that *Constantine* and *Licinius*, having shar'd the *Roman Empire* between them, had pass'd a Decree together at *Milan*, for Christianity to be the Established Religion: And when afterward *Licinius*, in his part of the Empire, would have oppress'd it contrary to Law; for that cause *Constantine* the Great made War upon him; and in prosecution of that War, thrust him out of his Empire: For which he was so far from being blamed by any Christian in those times, even by those that had been *Licinius's* Subjects, as most of those Bishops were, that sate in the *Nicene Council*, that they all gave him the highest Praises and Encomiums, and blessed God that had sent them that happy Deliverance by his means. *Ensebius* was *Licinius's* Subject, and he afterwards writ the Life of *Constantine* the Great, in which they that please may read whole Chapters to this purpose.

cording to the Constitution of the *English* Government, and Immemorial Custom, all Elections of Parliament-men ought to be made with an entire Liberty, without any sort of Force, or the requiring the Electors to chuse such Persons as shall be named to them; and the Persons thus freely elected, ought to give their Opinions freely, upon all Matters that are brought before them, having the good of the Nation ever before their eyes, and following in all things the Dictates of their Conscience; yet now the People of *England* cannot expect a Remedy from a *Free Parliament*, legally called and chosen. But they may perhaps see one called, in which all Elections will be carried by Fraud or Force, and which will be composed of such Persons, of whom those Evil Counsellors hold themselves well assured, in which all things will be carried on according to their Direction and Interest, without any regard to the Good or Happiness of the Nation; which may appear evidently from this, that the same Persons tried the Members of the last Parliament, to gain them to Consent to the Repeal of the *Test and Penal Laws*, and procured that Parliament to be dissolved, when they found that they could not, neither by Promises nor Threatnings, prevail with the Members to comply with their wicked Designs.

19. But to Crown all, there are great and violent Presumptions, inducing us to believe, that those Evil Counsellors, in order to the carrying on of their ill Designs, and to the gaining to themselves the more
time

As that is a just War which is made upon just and sufficient Cause, so the Effect of such a War, being a Conquest, is Just.

Conquest being the way by which a Kingdom or Dominion is taken from a Sovereign Prince against his Will, and by which another Prince gets it into his Possession; as often as this happens, there arises a Question between the two Princes, whether of them hath a Right to that Kingdom or Dominion.

For the deciding of this Question, it must be by such a Law as is common to both the Parties, whose Rights are to be judg'd by it. That cannot be the Law of the Kingdom; for tho the Prince that is disfeiz'd, was obliged by that Law while he was in possession, yet now it seems he is not; and it never was a Law to the Prince that is now in his place. It must therefore be a Superior Law, such as is common to all Sovereign Princes in their Affairs with one another, and that (as hath been already shewn) is ordinarily the Law of Nations.

I say ordinarily, because there is yet a Superior Law, namely, the Law of God; whether written in our Hearts, which we commonly call the Law of Nature; or whether an express Revelation from God, such as was sometimes given to Men in Ancient Times; either of these may derogate from the Law of Nations: For this, being made up of Customs observ'd by Princes and States among themselves, is always subject to the will of him that is Lord of lords, and King of kings.

time for the effecting of them, for the encouraging of their Complices, and for the discouraging of all good Subjects, have published, That the *Queen* hath brought forth a *Son*; though there have appeared both during the *Queen's* pretended bigness, and in the manner in which the Birth was managed, so many just and visible grounds of Suspicion, that not only we our selves, but all the good Subjects of those Kingdoms, do vehemently suspect, that the pretended Prince of *Wales* was not born by the *Queen*. And it is notoriously known to all the World, that many both doubted of the *Queen's* Bigness, and of the birth of the Child, and yet there was not any one thing done to satisfy them, or to put an end to their Doubts.

20. And since our Dearest and most Entirely beloved Consort the Princess, and likewise We Our Selves, have so great an Interest in this Matter, and such a Right, as all the World knows, to the Succession to the Crown: Since also the *English* did in the Year 1672. when the States General of the *United Provinces* were invaded in a most unjust War, use their utmost endeavours to put an end to that War, and that in opposition to those who were then in the Government; and by their so doing, they ran the hazard of losing both the Favour of the Court, and their employments: and since the *English* Nation has ever testified a most particular Affection and Esteem, both to our Dearest Consort the Princess, and to Our selves,
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But whether, or how far, this may alter the case, will be considered afterwards; at present we are only to consider what Judgment can be made of it, according to the Law of Nations.

By this it seems to be plain, That the Right should go along with the compleat possession: So as that wheresoever this is once settled, whether by length of time, or even sooner, by a general Consent of the people, there it ought to be presumed there is a Right, at least, there ought to be no farther Dispute of it. There seems to be the same reason for this, that there is for the Law of Nations it self; for if that Law was ordained for the peace of mankind, this quitting of possession must be a part of it, for there can be no end of Wars otherwise. p. 45, 46, 47, to 51.

This appears by *Jephtha's* Speech to the King of *Ammon* that had *Chemosh* for his God; *Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh thy God giveth thee to possess? So whomsoever the Lord our God shall drive out from before us, them will we possess.* p. 51.

It is by way of Conquest, that God puts down one, and sets up another. For so the *Babylonian* Empire was put down by *Cyrus*, who set up the *Persian* in its stead. The *Persian* Empire was put down in their last King *Darius*, and *Alexander* set up the *Macedon* in its stead. The *Macedon* Kingdom was put down in their last King *Perseus*, and the *Roman* was set up in its stead.

All these Kingdoms were changed by Conquests that they made
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We cannot excuse our selves from Espousing their Interests, in a Matter of such high Consequence; and from contributing all that lies in us, for the maintaining both of the *Protestant Religion*, and of the Laws and Liberties of those Kingdoms, and for the Securing to them the continual enjoyment of all their just Rights. To the doing of which, We are most earnestly solicited by a great many Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen and other Subjects of all Ranks.

21. Therefore it is, that We have thought fit to go over to *England*, and to carry over with us a Force, sufficient by the Blessing of God, to defend us from the Violence of those Evil Counsellors. And We being desirous that our Intentions in this may be rightly understood, have for this end prepared this *Declaration*, in which, as we have hitherto given a True Account of the Reasons inducing us to it; so we now think fit to declare, That this our Expedition is intended for no other design, but to have a Free and Lawful Parliament Assembled, as soon as is possible: And that in order to this, all the late Charters by which the Elections of Burgeesses are limited contrary to the Ancient Custom, shall be considered as null and of no force: And likewise all Magistrates who have been unjustly turned out, shall forthwith resume their former employments, as well as all the Burroughs of *England* shall return again to their Ancient Prescriptions and

one upon another. And so it was by those Conquests, that God removed Kings, and set up Kings. p. 53.

I do not say but they would have opposed the making of one of those Conquests, namely, that of *Alexander the Great*, because King *Darius* was then living. But when they saw they could not Oppose, the Conquest being already made, then Just or Unjust, they submitted to it; and having submitted, they were subject without any more Controversie.

Therefore also Just and Religious Kings have reckoned their Conquests among the great things that God wrought by their means; and accounted them as much their Subjects whom they had gain'd by the Sword, as them that were born in their Dominions.

Therefore also God hath commanded his people to give Obedience to the Kings that came in by Conquest, without any other Title. Nay, to such as were capable of no other; for they were forbidden to set a stranger over them, which was not their brother. And yet they were Subjects to strangers, such as *Cushan, Eglon, and Jabin*, &c. And in *Zedekiah's* time God commanded them upon pain of death, to become the Subjects of *Nebuchadnezzar*, who had made a full Conquest over them, and held their lawful King *Jehoiachin* then in Captivity. This is plainly the Doctrine of that Convocation which sate in the beginning of King *James I.* his time; and therefore it cannot but be very unjust, to charge

and Charters; and more particularly, that the Ancient Charter of the Great and Famous City of London, shall again be in force: And that the Writs for the Members of Parliament shall be addressed to the proper Officers, according to Law and Custom. That also none be suffered to chuse, or to be chosen Members of Parliament, but such as are qualified by Law: And that the Members of Parliament being thus lawfully Chosen, they shall meet and sit in full Freedom; that so the two Houses may concur in the preparing of such Laws, as they upon full and free Debate shall judge necessary and convenient, both for the confirming and executing the Law concerning the *Test*, and such other Laws as are necessary for the security and maintenance of the *Protestant Religion*; as likewise for making such Laws as may establish a good agreement between the *Church of England* and all *Protestant Dissenters*; as also for the covering and securing of all such who will live peaceably under the Government, as becomes good Subjects, from all persecution upon the account of their Religion, even *Papists* themselves not excepted; and for the doing of all other things, which the Two Houses of Parliament shall find necessary for the Peace, Honour and Safety of the Nation, so that there may be no more danger of the Nations falling at any time hereafter under *Arbitrary Government*. To this Parliament we will also refer the Enquiry into the Birth of the pretended Prince

any Man with Singularity or Novelty, that goes in the steps of so many and so great Authors. p. 53, 54, 55.

But some Learned and Judicious Men think, That whereas an unjust Conquest happens through the Judgment of God, for the punishing of a sinful Prince or Nation; it doth not appear that he that is the Instrument of this, acquires any Right by it; more than those Pirates or Robbers, who are instrumental likewise, in the punishing of inferior Transgressors. And if God gives no Right to him whom he sets up, then it remains still in him whom he has put down: So that he is rightful King still, tho he is out of possession, and the other is but an Usurper that is in possession.

In this case, if the Usurper has no pretence of Right, no prescription of Time, no Consent of the people, but only an unjust possession; how a Subject ought to behave himself towards him, even this is a *Difficult Question*, in a most learned Man's Judgment: Who yet judges, That even here it may be not only Lawful, but a Duty, to obey him that is in possession, when the Legal King is reduced to that pass, that he can no more do the Office of a King to his people. For (saith he) the Kingdom cannot be without Government; and if the Usurper preserves the Kingdom, a Lover of his Countrey ought not (as things are) to give any further cause of trouble by his unprofitable Contumacy. But then put case the Usurper hath sworn the people to him, and doth

Prince of *Wales*, and of all things relating to it, and to the Right of Succession.

22. And We, for our part, will concur in every thing that may procure the Peace and Happiness of the Nation, which a Free and Lawful Parliament shall determine; since we have nothing before our Eyes in this our undertaking, but the preservation of the *Protestant Religion*, the Covering of all men from persecution for their Consciences, and the securing to the whole Nation the free enjoyment of all their Laws, Rights and Liberties, under a Just and Legal Government.

23. This is the Design that we have proposed to our selves, in appearing upon this occasion in Arms: In the Conduct of which, We will keep the Forces under our Command, under all the strictness of Martial Discipline; and take a special care, that the people of the Countries through which we must March, shall not suffer by their means; and as soon as the state of the Nation will admit of it, We promise that we will send back all those Foreign Forces that We have brought along with us.

24. We do therefore hope that all people will judge rightly of us, and approve of these our proceedings: But We chiefly rely on the Blessing of God for the Success of this our Undertaking, in which We place our whole and only Confidence.

25. We do in the last place invite and require all persons whatsoever,

doth the Office of a King, which (it seems) in his Judgment doth not take away the duty that is owing to that former King; how one can pay his duty to both, the expell'd Legal King, and to such an Usurper. This our Author says is *a most difficult Scruple*; and so it seems both by his, and our most Learned Casuists handling the Question; where they shew how far one ought, and how far one ought not to comply with such an Usurpation. *p. 56, 57, 58.*

But these Difficulties are only in case the possession is obtained by a War that was certainly unjust; for if the cause of the War was but doubtful, and a Conquest follows upon it, there is no place for these difficulties: Much less where the cause of War was certainly Just; for if a Conquest follows upon this, it gives a Right, and then there is no Usurpation.

It has been commonly judg'd by the Law of Nations, That the Right goes along with the Possession. Of this we see Examples in every Revolution that happens in this or any other Kingdom. When a King is driven out with any colour of Right, the Neighbouring Princes and States make no great difficulty of applying themselves to him that comes in his stead; wherein though perhaps they too much follow their own Interest, yet it cannot be said that what they do is against the Law of Nations. But what should Subjects do in this Case? Of this we have an Example in the People of God, when they pass'd

ever, all the Peers of the Realm both Spiritual and Temporal, all Lords Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and all Gentlemen, Citizens, and other Commons of all ranks, to come and assist us, in order to the Executing of this our Design, against all such as shall endeavour to Oppose us; that so we may prevent all those Miseries which must needs follow upon the Nations being kept under Arbitrary Government and Slavery: And that the Violences and Disorders which have overturned the whole Constitution of the *English* Government, may be fully redressed in a *Free and Legal Parliament*.

26. And we do likewise resolve, that as soon as the Nations are brought to a state of Quiet, We will take care that a Parliament shall be called in *Scotland*, for the restoring the Ancient Constitution of that Kingdom, and for bringing the Matters of Religion to such a Settlement, that the people may live ease and happy, and for putting an end to all the unjust Violences, that have been in a course of so many years committed there.

We will also study to bring the Kingdom of *Ireland* to such a state, that the Settlement there may be religiously observed; and that the Protestant and British Interest there, may be secured. And we will endeavour by all possible means, to procure such an Establishment in all the Three Kingdoms, that they may all live in a happy Union and Correspondence together; and that

pass'd successively under the Yoke of those Four great Monarchs that were formerly mention'd. It is likely that each of those Kings that got the Power over them, first declar'd the Cause of the War that he made upon the former Lords. In that Case, though they could not judge of the Cause, whether it was Just or Unjust, yet no doubt they did well in adhering to him that was in present Possession. p. 60, 61.

To a People that are in such a case, it is no small Comfort, that whatsoever doubt they may have of the Cause of the War, yet there is no doubt at all concerning their Duty. There is nothing more certain than this, that they ought to preserve themselves, if they can do it lawfully. But it is lawful for them to forbear fighting, when they are unsatisfied of the Cause: And if their own Prince is not able to protect them, it is lawful for them to take protection elsewhere. Therefore in case of Invasion for a Cause which is just, for ought they know, it is lawful for them to live quietly under the Invader: nay, it is not only lawful, but their duty (as hath been already shewn) to acquiesce in his Government, when he comes to be in Possession.

But when they are certain that a War is made upon their Prince for just Cause; that is, when they plainly see he hath drawn it upon himself, by making it not only lawful, but necessary for another Prince to invade him for his own Preservation; What are the People to do in this

the Protestant Religion, and the Peace, Honour and Happiness of those Nations, may be established upon lasting Foundations.

Given under our Hand and Seal, at our Court in the Hague, the Tenth day of October, in the year of our Lord, 1688.

William Henry, Prince of Orange.

By his Highness's special Command,

C. Huygens,

The King having received advice that the preparations in *Holland* were designed for *England*, cast about how to prevent the Peoples running to joyn with the Prince: In order to which he was advised to appease them, by seeming to step backward, and undo some things that he knew had given a general distaste against his Government. Hereupon the Ecclesiastical Commission was taken away, the Bishop of *London* and the Master and Fellows of *Magdalen-College* restored; as likewise the Ancient Charters of Cities and Boroughs, and a Free Parliament promised to be called, when the Kingdom should be freed from a Foreign Force.

This occasioned the Prince to publish his Additional Declaration.

His Highness's additional Declaration, &c.

After we had Prepared and Printed this our Declaration,
We

this Case? No doubt they ought first to have a care of their Souls, and not to endanger them by being Partakers of other mens Sins. They cannot but see, that, by engaging in the War, they abet their own Prince in his Injustice; though not in his doing the Injury, yet in continuing what is done, and in his not giving Reparation. And therefore they are subject to the same punishment with him. Nay their Condition is worse than his: For he may shift for himself, and leave them, and all they have, to be a Prey to the Enemy: Who by right of War may do with them and theirs what he pleases. It is therefore certainly their wisest Course to keep themselves free from all offence, both towards God, and towards Man: That having had no part in the Cause of the War, they may not be involv'd in the ill Consequences of it. And this they have reason to expect from a Generous Enemy, that he will not use the Right of War against them that desire to live peaceably. Much more, if he hath declar'd he would not hurt them that should not resist him, they have reason to trust a just Prince upon his Declaration. And if he went so far as to declare, That upon their Submission they should enjoy the benefit of their own Laws; then, although it should come to a Conquest, they may reasonably expect to be in no worse condition under the Stranger, than they were under their own Prince: They have his Faith engaged to them for this.

But

We have understood that the Subverters of the Religion and Laws of those Kingdoms, hearing of Our Preparations to assist the People against them, have begun to retract some of the Arbitrary and Despotick Powers that they had assumed, and to vacate some of their Injust Judgments and Decrees. The sense of their Guilt, and the distrust of their Force, have induced them to offer to the City of *London* some seeming Relief from their great Oppressions; hoping thereby to quiet the People, and to divert them from demanding a Re-establishment of their Religion and Laws under the shelter of our Arms: They do also give out, That we do intend to Conquer and Enslave the Nation; and therefore it is that we have thought fit to add a few words to our Declaration.

We are confident, that no Persons can have such hard thoughts of us, As to imagine that we have any other Design in this Undertaking, than to procure a Settlement of the Religion, and of the Liberties and Properties of the Subjects upon so sure a Foundation, that there may be no danger of the Nations relapsing into the like Miseries at any time hereafter. And as the Forces that we have brought along with us, are utterly disproportioned to that wicked Design of Conquering the Nation, if we were capable of Intending it; so the great numbers of the Principal Nobility and Gentry, that are Men of Eminent Quality and Estates, and Persons

But if the Stranger declares he makes War in defence of another King's Subjects, as (we have shewn) he may lawfully do, when he finds himself in danger of suffering by that King's Oppression of his own People; in this Case, they are first to consider, whether it is a mere pretence, or whether there be a real ground for his Declaration. If they find there is a just and sufficient ground for it, they see in effect, that it is through Them that he is struck at; and therefore the War is not so much His, as their own. It is true according to our Doctrine, they are united to their Prince as a Wife to her Husband; so that they can no more right themselves by Arms, than she can sue her Husband while the Bond of Marriage continues. Yet as, When her Husband uses her extremely ill, she may complain of him to the Judge, who, if he sees Cause, may dissolve the Marriage by his Sentence; and after that she is at liberty to sue him as well as any other Man: So a People may cry to the Lord by reason of their Oppression, and he may raise them up a Deliverer, that shall take the Government into his hands (a Foreign Prince may lawfully do this, as hath been already shewn) and then they are not only free to defend themselves, but are oblig'd to join with him, against their Oppressor. *p. 62, 63, 64, 65.*

In this Case, if another Prince, having a just Cause of War, is so far concern'd for such a People, as to take them into his Care, and to declare

sons of known Integrity and Zeal both for the Religion and Government of *England*, many of them being also distinguished by their constant Fidelity to the Crown, who do both accompany us in this Expedition, and have earnestly solicited us to it, will cover us from all such malicious Insinuations: For it is not to be imagin'd, that either those who have Invited us, or those that are already come to Assist us, can join in a wicked attempt of Conquest, to make void their own lawful Titles to their Honours, Estates, and Interests. We are also confident, that all Men see how little weight there is to be laid on all Promises and Engagements, that can be now made; since there has been so little regard had in the time past, to the most solemn Promises. And as that imperfect Redress that is now offered, is a plain Confession of those Violations of the Government that we have set forth; so the Defectiveness of it is no less apparent: For they lay down nothing which they may not take up at pleasure; and they reserve entire, and not so much as mentioned, their Claims and Pretences to an Arbitrary and Despotick Power; which has been the Root of all their Oppression, and of the total Subversion of the Government. And it is plain, that there can be no Redress nor Remedy offered but in Parliament; by a Declaration of the Rights of the Subjects, that have been invaded, and not by any pretended Acts of Grace, to which the extremity of their Affairs has

clear that he makes the War for their Deliverance: The effect of this War, though we may call it a Conquest, because it has resemblance of it, yet it cannot be properly so in any respect; whether we consider the Prince on whom it is made, or the People that have their Deliverance by it.

As to him, it is properly an *Eviction* by the just Sentence of God; who thus puts him out of a Trust, that he abused, to the hurt of them for whose sakes it was given him. And as to the people, it cannot be a Conquest over them, who are so far from having the War made against them, that it was made chiefly for their sakes. If there be any pretence of a Conquest, it is only over them that were their Oppressors. *p.66, 67.*

*An Answer to Mr. Ashton's
Paper, &c.*

THE Matter in dispute is not whether *Rightful, Lawful Kings are to be obeyed*, but who in our present Circumstances is our Rightful, Lawful Sovereign; not whether *Kings be not God's Vicegerents*, but whether God doth not sometimes confer the Right of Sovereignty by a *Law superior* to the *Laws of particular Countries*, that is, by the *Law of Nations*, which establisheth such a *Right* upon the success of a Just War; not whether *Sovereign Princes are not accountable only to God*, but whether Allegiance

has driven them. Therefore it is that we have thought fit to declare, That we will refer all to a Free Assembly of the Nation, in a Lawful Parliament.

Given under our Hand and Seal, at our Court in the Hague, the Twenty fourth day of October, in the year of our Lord, 1688.

William Henry, Prince of Orange.

By his Highness's special Command,
C. Huygens.

Pursuant to the Peoples Invitation, and to carry on the ends of the foregoing Declaration, the Prince set Sail from Holland, with betwixt Four and Five Hundred Capital Ships, Fire-Ships, Pinks, and Tenders: And upon the Fifth of November landed in Torbay in Devonshire.

The people in great Numbers welcom'd his Highness with loud Acclamations of Joy. His Army consisted of about 15000 Horse and Foot.

After the Army was landed, and the Prince come to Exeter, the Gentry from all parts of Devonshire, Somersetshire, &c. flock'd to him in great numbers, few absenting themselves. Several of the Nobility came to him likewise, whilst in and about Exeter; others afterwards, when he was farther advanced towards London.

Before his Royal Highness left Exeter, there was an Association drawn up, and signed by all the
Lords

be not due where the Rights of Sovereignty are placed, by an extraordinary Act of Providence, and the concurrent Consent of the Nation. p. 9, 10.

We must of necessity look back to the Occasions of this great Revolution: And there were two principal Occasions of it.

First, Great and violent Presumptions of an Injury to the Right of Succession.

Secondly, Too great Evidences of a formed Design to subvert the Established Religion and Civil Liberties of the Nation.

Now there are two very material Questions which arise from hence.

First, Whether these were the just Occasions of a War.

Secondly, Whether upon the success of this War, the Rights of Sovereignty were duly transferred?

If these were just Occasions of a War, and upon the Success thereof the Sovereignty was duly transferred, then there can be no Dispute left, to whom our Allegiance is due.

It is taken for granted by all who understand these Matters, That as there is a Law of Nature, which determines the Rights and Properties of particular Nations; and that all private Persons are bound to submit to the Municipal Laws of those Societies for their Peace and Security: So there are other Laws which concern those Nations, as they make up several independent Governments upon each other. And there are several
Rights

Lords and Gentlemen that were with him, in these words; *viz.*

WE whose Names are hereunto subscribed, who have now joyned with the Prince of *Orange*, for the defence of the Protestant Religion, and for the maintaining the Ancient Government, and the Laws and Liberties of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, do engage to Almighty God, to his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and to one another, to stick firm to this Cause, and to one another, in the defence of it, and never to depart from it, until our Religion, Laws, and Liberties are so far secured to us in a Free Parliament, that we shall be no more in danger of falling under *Po-pery* and *Slavery*. And whereas we are engaged in this common Cause, under the Protection of the Prince of *Orange*, by which in case his Person may be exposed to danger, and to the cursed attempts of *Papists*, and other bloody men; we do therefore solemnly engage to God and one another, That if any such attempt be made upon him, we will pursue not only those who make it, but all their Adherents, and all that we find in Arms against us, with the utmost severity of a just Revenge, to their Ruin and Destruction. And that the execution of any such Attempt (which God of his Infinite Mercy forbid) shall not divert us from prosecuting this Cause which we do now undertake, but that it shall engage us to carry it on with all the rigor that so barbarous a Practice shall deserve. A-

Rights which belong to them with respect to one another, which do not belong to private Persons as they live in subjection to any particular Government.

And as there are such Rights, so there must be a just and lawful way for reparation of Injuries. In particular Governments, the thing is plain by Established Laws and Courts of Judicature, whose Sentence is executed by the Civil Power; but in Separate Nations, and Independent Governments, although there be Laws by consent, called the *Law of Nations*; yet there is no common Judicature to determine of Right and Wrong; and therefore in case of Injury, there is an allowance for the injured Party by this *Law of Nations* to right himself by force, as there would be to every particular Person, if there were no Laws nor Power to see them executed.

There is then a Right in every Sovereign and Independent Prince to exercise Force against another Prince, who detains any Right from him, or doth any Injury to him, or to those he is bound to defend.

The Question then comes to the *Just Occasions* of such a War; and here are two assigned.

First, Great and violent Presumptions of an Injury to the Right of Succession. This is expressly mentioned and insisted on, in the Declaration of the then Prince of *Orange* (our present King.) p. 9, 10, 11.

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About this time a Printed Letter was dispersed amongst the Army, directed to the Officers, and inviting them to join with the Prince in the Deliverance of their Countrey.

Gentlemen and Friends,

WE have given you so full and so true an Account of our Intentions in this Expedition, in our Declaration, that as we can add nothing to it, so we are sure you can desire nothing more of us. We are come to preserve your Religion, and to restore and establish your Liberties and Properties; and therefore we cannot suffer our selves to doubt, but that all true English-men will come and concur with us in our desire to secure these Nations from *Poverty* and *Slavery*. You must all plainly see, that you are only made use of as Instruments to enslave the Nation, and ruin the Protestant Religion; and when that is done, you may judge what you your selves ought to expect, both from the Casshiring all the Protestant and *English* Officers and Soldiers in *Ireland*, and by the *Irish* Soldiers being brought over to be put in your places; and of which you have seen so fresh an Instance, that we need not put you in mind of it. You know how many of your Fellow-Officers have been used, for their standing firm to the Protestant Religion, and to the Laws of *England*; and you cannot flatter your selves so far, as to expect to be better used, if those who have broke their Word so often should by your means be brought out

There have been many Instances in History of suborned and supposititious Princes, and therefore there was reason that sufficient Evidence should be given in a Case of such Importance, and which was under so great Suspicion. But if there was no reasonable care taken to prevent or remove these Suspectious, then the Parties most concerned have a right to assert their own Pretensions in such a way as the Law of Nations doth allow.

And in this Case no private Depositions, or confident Affirmations of such as are Dependents, or otherwise liable to Suspicion, can in reason be taken for satisfactory Evidence. p. 13.

Secondly, There was a further Just Occasion for that Expedition, which was the Design to subvert our Religion and Civil Liberties. As to the Particulars, they are fully set down in the Declaration, and need not to be repeated; That which I am to make out, is, That the then Prince of *Orange* by his Relation to the Crown, had a just Right to concern himself in the Vindication of both, and that this is not repugnant to the Doctrines and Principles of the Church of *England*.

It was not thought disagreeable to them for Queen *Elizabeth* to assist the *Dutch* against the King of *Spain*; yet she had no such reason for it as our King and Queen had to prevent the suppression of their

out of those Straights to which they are at present reduced. We hope likewise, that ye will not suffer your selves to be abused by a false Notion of Honour, but that you will in the first place consider, what you owe to Almighty God and your Religion, to your Countrey, to your Selves, and to your Posterity, which you, as Men of Honour, ought to prefer to all private Considerations and Engagements whatsoever. We do therefore expect that you will consider the Honour that is now set before you, of being the Instruments of serving your Countrey, and securing your Religion; and we shall ever remember the Service you shall do Us upon this occasion; and will promise you, That we shall place such particular Marks of our Favour on every one of you, as your Behaviour at this time shall deserve of Us and the Nation; in which we shall make a great distinction of those that shall come seasonably to joyn their Arms with Ours; and you shall find Us to be your well-wishing and assured Friend,


W. H. P. O.

And another to all the Officers and Seamen in the *Englisk* Fleet.

Gentlemen and Friends,

AS We have given to our Faithful and Well-beloved Admiral *Herbert* a full power, so we hope that you will give him an intire credit, as to all he shall say to you on our part. We have published a Declaration

their own Religion here, and the Rights of that People to whom they were so nearly related. p. 15.

In the beginning of the Reign of King *Charles* the First, when I suppose it will be granted, That the Doctrines and Principles of  the Church of England were understood and followed; the King of Denmark had taken up Arms, to settle the Peace and liberty of Germany, as he declared: But he met with a great Defeat. Whereupon King *Charles* the First thought himself concerned to give Assistance to him: And Archbishop *Lind* was then employed (as Dr. *Hyllin* confesseth) by the King's Command, to draw up a Declaration, to be published in all the Parishes of England; which was read by the King, and approved by the Council, wherein the Greatness of the Danger they were in is set forth, and the People are exhorted to serve God and the King, and to labour by their Prayers to divert the Danger. Wherein lay this Danger? It is there said to be, That by the Defeat of the King of Denmark, there was little or nothing left to hinder the House of Austria from being Lord and Master of Germany. And what then? Why then there will be an open way for Spain to do what they pleased in all the West Part of Christendom. It seems then, it was not thought disagreeable to the Principles and Doctrines of our Church, to hinder the growth of a Western Monarchy, although it be by assisting Subjects

claration which contains the Reasons which moved Us to enter upon this Expedition; in which you will see We had no other design than the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the re-establishment of the Laws and *Liberties* of the Kingdom of *England*, because it is evident that the Papists have resolved the intire ruin of Our Religion in Great Britain, as it is effected already in *France*: And to you it is only to be imputed, if they are Masters.

We are persuaded that you already perceive that you are made use of only as an Instrument for the bringing your selves and your Countrey under the yoke of the Papacy, and into Slavery, by the means of the *Irish*, and other Foreigners who are prepared to finish your Destruction And therefore we hope God will inspire you with more salutary thoughts for the facilitating your Deliverance, and for the delivering you from all your Miseries, with your Countrey and Religion.

And this is in all appearance impossible, without your joyning with us, and assisting us, who seek nothing but your Deliverance. And we also assure you, That we will never forget the Services which you shall do us on this occasion; and we promise to give every one particular marks of our favour, who shall deserve it of us and the Nation. We are sincerely your very affectionate Friend,

W. H. P. O.


Subjects against their Princes who promote it. p. 17.

But yet here is another Difficulty ariseth, concerning the transferring Allegiance from a Lawful Prince, to him that met with unexpected Success in his Design.

And here I shall endeavour to make it plain, That this is not against the *Doctrines and Principles of the Church of England*. p. 20.

The *Articles* of our Church declare, That the chief Government of all Estates of this Realm doth appertain to the Civil Magistrate: But they nowhere say, That in a Just War the Superior Power cannot be acquired; or that God doth never confer it in an extraordinary method.

The Book of *Homilies* is very severe against *Disobedience* and *willful Rebellion*; but it is nowhere said, That where the Right of Sovereignty is transferred by a Successful War, there is no Allegiance due to those who possess it. p. 2.

Ours is only the Case of Just War; which  *Apogee nugas!* is allowed by all sorts of *Casuits*, who do agree, that Allegiance is due to the Party that prevails in it; and if it be due to one, it cannot be due to another, at the same time, although he be living, and do not discharge Persons from their Oaths; for the obligation of Oaths depends on the nature and reason of things, and not upon the Pleasure of those to whom they are made. But where there

These Letters were spread under-hand over the whole Kingdom, and read by all sorts of men; and the reason of them being undeniable, it had a great force on the Spirits of the Soldiery and Seamen; so that those who did not presently comply with them, yet resolved they would never strike one stroke in the quarrel, till they had a Parliament to secure the Religion, Laws and Liberties of England; which the Court on the other side had resolved should not be called till the Prince of Orange, with his Army, were expelled out of the Nation, and all those who had submitted to him, were reduced into their power, to be treated as they thought fit.

The particulars of the Prince's March to London, where he arrived on the 18th. of December; and the very few Skirmishes that hapned betwixt some of his and the King's Soldiers, being inconsiderable, shall not be recounted.

But betwixt his Landing, and coming to Town,

1. The Lord *Delamere* assembled Fifty Horsemen, and at the head of them marched to *Manchester*; and the next day, to *Boden-Dorrens*, being then a Hundred and fifty strong, declaring his design to join with the Prince of Orange; which he did.

2. On the 22d day of November, the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty at *Nottingham*, made this Declaration.

there is a Right to govern, there must be a Duty of Allegiance: And that Success in a Just War doth give such a Right, I could produce so many Testimonies, of all kinds of Writers, as would make the reading of them as tedious, as of those in the History of Passive Obedience. Nay, some go so far, as to assert a Right of Sovereignty to be acquired by success, even in an Unjust War: But we need none of these Testimonies.

What Right do you mean?

So 'tis, as much as by a Just War.

But doth not all this resolve this whole Controversie into a Right of Conquest, which is not so much as pretended in our present Case?

'Tis not a pin-matter whether it does or no.

our present Case?

* I answer, That we must distinguish between a Right to the Government, and the Manner of Assuming it. The Right was founded on the Just Causes of the War, and the Success in it: But the assuming of it was not by any ways of force or violence, but by a Free Consent of the People, who by a voluntary Recognition, and Their Majesties acceptance of the Government, as it is settled by our Laws, take away any pretence * to a Conquest over the People, or a Government by Force.

** It's a fine thing to be a Schollar.*

** But not to an Ecclesiastical Whimsie of an imaginary Right by the Choice of God.*

W E the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of these Northern Counties, assembled at Nottingham, for the defence of the Laws, Religion and Properties, according to the free-born Liberties and Privileges descended to Us from our Ancestors, as the undoubted Birth-right of the Subjects of this Kingdom of England, (not doubting but the Infringers and Invaders of our Rights, will represent us to the rest of the Nation, in the most malicious dress they can put upon us) do here unanimously think it our duty to declare to the rest of our Protestant Fellow-Subjects, the grounds of our present Undertaking.

We are by innumerable Grievances made sensible, That the very Fundamentals of our Religion, Liberties, and Properties, are about to be rooted out by our late *Jesuitical Privy-Council*, as has been of late too apparent: First, By the King's dispensing with all the Established Laws, at his pleasure. 2. By displacing all Officers out of all Offices of Trust and Advantage, and placing others in their room, that are known Papists, deservedly made incapable by the Established Laws of this Land. 3. By destroying the Charters of most Corporations in the land. 4. By discouraging all persons that are not Papists, and preferring such as turn to Popery. 5. By displacing all honest and conscientious Judges, unless they would, contrary to their Consciences, declare that

The Case of the Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers, &c.

T H A T which has perplexed this Controversie, is the intermixing the Dispute of *Right*, with the Duty of *Obedience*, or making the *Legal Right* of Princes to their Thrones the only Reason and Foundation of the *Allegiance* of Subjects: That *Allegiance* is due only to *Right*, not to *Government*, though it can be paid only to *Government*.

It seems to me to be unfit to dispute the *Right* of Princes; a thing which no *Government* can permit to be a Question among their Subjects. p. 1.

And therefore I shall not meddle with this Dispute, as being both above me, and * no
thing to my present purpose. ** Then you'll say nothing to the purpose.*

Subjects have a plain Rule of Duty without understanding Laws and Politicks, the Intrigues of Government, the Revolutions of States, the Disputes of Princes; which I am sure is both for the security of Governments and Subjects.

If then Allegiance be due, not for the sake of *Legal Right*, but *Government*.

If Allegiance be due, not to bare *Legal Right*, but * to the Authority of God. ** That is, to Clergy-mens Crochets.*

If God, when he sees fit, and can better serve the ends of his Providence by it, sets up Kings without any regard to *Legal Right* or *Humane Laws*. p. 2. If

that to be Law, which was merely Arbitrary. 6. By branding all Men with the name of Rebels, that but offered to justify the Laws in a legal course against the Arbitrary Proceedings of the King, or any of his corrupt Ministers. 7. By burthening the Nation with an Army, to maintain the Violation of the Rights of the Subjects; and by discountenancing the Established Religion. 8. By forbidding the Subjects the benefit of Petitioning, and construing them Libellers; so rendring the Laws a Nose of Wax, to serve their Arbitrary Ends. And many more such like, too long here to enumerate.

We being thus made sadly sensible of the Arbitrary Tyrannical Government, that is by the influence of Jesuitical Councils coming upon us, do unanimously declare, That not being willing to deliver our Posterity over to such a condition of Popery and Slavery, as the aforesaid Oppressions do inevitably threaten; we will, to the utmost of our power, oppose the same, by joining with the Prince of Orange, (whom, we hope, God Almighty hath sent to rescue us from the Oppressions aforesaid) will use our utmost endeavours for the recovery of our almost ruin'd Laws, Liberties, and Religion; and herein we hope all good Protestant Subjects will with their Lives and Fortunes be assistant to us, and not be bugbear'd with the opprobrious terms of Rebels, by which they would fright us to become perfect Slaves to their Tyrannical Insolences and Usurpations: For we assure our selves, that

If Kings, thus set up by God, are invested with God's Authority, which must be obey'd, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.

If these Principles be true, it is plain, That Subjects are bound to obey, and to pay and swear Allegiance (if it be required) to those Princes whom God hath placed and settled in the Throne, whatever Disputes there may be about their legal Right, when they are invested with God's Authority.

And then it is plain, That our old Allegiance and old Oaths are at an end, when God has set over us a new King: For when God transfers Kingdoms, and requires our Obedience and Allegiance to a new King, he necessarily transfers our Allegiance too.

This Scheme of Government may startle some men at first, before they have well considered it. p. 2, 3.

*From you it
will startle no
man of common
sense.*

The Church of England has been very careful to instruct Her Children in their Duty to Princes; to obey their Laws, and submit to their power, and not to resist, tho very injuriously oppress'd; and those, who renounce these Principles, renounce the Doctrine of the Church of England: But she has withal taught, That all Sovereign Princes receive their Power and Authority from God; and therefore every Prince who is settled in the Throne, is to be obey'd and revered as God's Minister, and not to be resisted; which

that no rational and unbiaſs'd Perſon will judge it Rebellion to defend our Laws and Religion, which all our Princes have ſworn at their Coronation ; which Oath, how well it hath been obſerved of late, we deſire a *Free Parliament* may have the conſideration of.

We own it Rebellion to reſiſt a King that governs by Law ; but he was always accounted a *Tyrant*, that made his *Will the Law* ; and to reſiſt ſuch a one, we juſtly eſteem no Rebellion, but a neceſſary Defence: And in this Conſideration we doubt not of all honeſt Mens aſſiſtance ; and humbly hope for and implore the Great God's Protection, that turneth the hearts of his People as pleaſeth him beſt ; it having been obſerved, that People can never be of one mind without his Inſpiration, which hath in all Ages confirmed that Obſervation, *Vox populi eſt vox Dei*.

The preſent reſtoring the Charters, and reverſing the oppreſſing and unjuſt Judgment given on *Magdalen-College* Fellows, is plain, are but to ſtill the People, like Plumbs to Children, by deceiving them for a while: But if they ſhall by this Stragem be fooled, till this preſent Storm that threatens the Papiſts be paſt, as ſoon as they ſhall be re-ſettled, the former Oppreſſions will be put on with greater vigour ; but we hope, *in vain is the Net ſpread in the ſight of the Birds* : For, firſt, The Papiſts old Rule is, that *Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks* (as they term Proteſtants) tho the Popiſh Religion is the greateſt Herſie. And, ſecondly,

Queen

which directs us what to do in all Revolutions of Government, when once they come to a Settlement ; and thoſe who reſuſe to pay and ſwear Allegiance to ſuch Princes, whom God has placed in the Throne, whatever their Legal Right be, do as much reſect the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, as thoſe who teach the Reſiſtance of Princes.

For the proof of which, I appeal to *Bishop Overal's* Convocation-Book. p. 4.

I know not how it was poſſible for the Convocation to expreſs their ſenſe plainer, That all Uſurped Powers, when thoroughly ſettled, have God's Authority, and muſt be obey'd : So that here are the Two great points determined, whereon this whole Controverſie turns.

1. That thoſe Princes who have no legal right to their Thrones, may yet have God's Authority.

2. That when they are thoroughly ſettled in their Thrones, they are inveſted with God's Authority, and muſt be revered and obeyed by all who live within their Territories and Dominions, as well Priests as People: If theſe propoſitions be true, it is a plain Reſolution of the Caſe ; that if it ſhould at any time happen, that the rightful Prince ſhould be driven out of his Kingdom, and another Prince placed in his Throne, and ſettled in the full Adminiſtration of Government, Subjects not only may, but muſt for Conſcience ſake, and out of reverence

Queen Mary's so ill observing her Promises to the *Suffolk* Men that help'd her to her Throne. And above all, thirdly, the Pope's dispensing with the Breach of Oaths, Treaties or Promises at his pleasure, when it makes for the Service of Holy Church, as they term it. These, we say are such convincing Reasons to hinder us from giving credit to the aforesaid *Mick-shems* of Redress, that we think our selves bound in Conscience to rest on no security that shall not be approved by a freely-elected Parliament; To whom, under GOD, we refer our Cause.

3. The King having marched his Army as far as *Salisbury* to meet the Prince, published a Proclamation of Pardon to all such of his Subjects as had taken up Arms, and sided with the Prince, provided they deserted the Enemy within 20 days; and promising Pardon and protection to such Foreigners as would come into his Service; and freedom of passage to others to return into their respective Countries. But this Proclamation was not at all regarded.

4. When the King was at *Salisbury*, the Popish Party seeing their Affairs grow every day more desperate, began to employ all their Politicks to invent some Remedy for them, and then first formed the Design of the King's with-drawing, which they grounded upon this Supposition and Expectation, That within two years, or less, the Nation would be in such Confusion, that he might return, and have his Ends of it.

verence to the Authority of God, with which such a Prince is invested, pay all the Duty and Allegiance of Subjects to him.

As for the first, the Case is plain, That the Convocation speaks of illegal and usurped Powers, and yet affirms that the Authority exercised by them, is God's Authority, and therefore those Princes, who have no legal right, may have God's Authority. p. 5.

The *Mosabites* and *Arames* never could have a Legal Right to the Government of *Israel*; and yet the Convocation asserts, That when *Israel* was in subjection to them, they knew, that it was not lawful for them of themselves, and by their own Authority to take Arms against the Kings, whose Subjects they were, *Prove they tho, indeed they were Tyrants.*

The like, they teach of the Kings of *Egypt* and *Babylon*. p. 6

There is no Duty Subjects, as such, owe to the most Legal and Rightful Kings, but the Convocation asserts due to all Kings, whom God hath placed in the Throne, by what visible means soever they obtained it; as to obey and submit to them, not to resist them, nor rebel against them; to pay all Customs and Taxes, to pray for them, nay, to swear Allegiance to them, if it be required. p. 7.

5. In the mean time the King being unmoveably fixed in a Resolution not to call a Parliament, part of the Army revolted, and went over to the Prince; and the rest either discouraged by the desertion of them that went, or by the averseness they found in the body of the People from making any opposition to the Prince's Arms, or out of a sense that in fighting against him, they should fight against their own Religion and native Country, appeared so lukewarm in the Cause, that the King did not think fit to hazard a Battel.

6. Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Grafton, the Lord Churchill, and many others of the Protestant Nobility, left the King, and went over to the Prince of Orange, then at Sherborne; and on the 25th of November, in the night, Princess Ann, the King's Second Daughter, withdrew privately from White-hall with the Lady Churchill.

7. The going off of these Great Men struck the King with terror, and the Army being before much in disorder, became thereby so full of fear and suspicion, that a false Alarm being made, whether by design or accident, the King and the whole Army left Salisbury; the Army retreating to Reading, and the King to Andover, and on Monday the 26th of November, he returned in the Evening to London.

8. The first thing the King did, being at London, was to remove Sir Edward Hales from being Lieutenant of the Tower, and to put
Sir

2. The only Enquiry then is, what the Convocation means by the Government's being *thoroughly settled*. A Prince who is thoroughly settled in his Throne, has God's Authority, and must be obeyed; but when is his Government thoroughly settled?

No; it is no part of the Enquiry; for who cares what either they meant, or you mean?

Now here it is, That men may impose upon themselves if they will, and if they think it their Interest to do so; and may make as little or as much go to a through settlement, as they please; for the Convocation has not determined the bounds of it. p. 9.

No; they left that to D. Sherlock.

The submission of the Prince indeed may be thought necessary to transfer a Legal Right; but the submission of the people, of it self, is sufficient to settle a Government; and when it is settled, then it is the Authority of God, whatever the Human Right be.

All Sovereign Powers, whose Power and Government is *thoroughly settled*, must be obeyed, whatever their Legal Right be; for they have the Authority of God. p. 9.

All Civil Power and Authority is from God; for he is the Supreme Lord of the World, and has the sole Right to govern his Creatures; and therefore no man can have any Authority but from God: This will be readily acknowledged by all, who believe, that there is a God, and
that

Sir Bevil Skelton, a Protestant, in his room. Sir Edward had displeased the whole City to the utmost, by planting several Mortar-pieces on the Walls towards the City; which tho designed only to awe it, had more enraged than afrighted them. So that his Majesty thought he was not safe at *White-hall*, so long as Sir Edward was Master of the *Tower*.

9. On the 28th His Majesty ordered in Privy Council the Lord Chancellor to issue Writs for the sitting of a Parliament at *Westminster* the 15th of *January* following. But it was now too late, and the Nation in such a ferment, that it was not regarded what the Court said or did.

10. *Scotland* was by this time almost in as bad a Condition as *England*; and some of the Nobility and Gentry were sent up with a Petition for a Free Parliament. The Popish Chappels at *Bristol*, *York*, *Glocester*, *Worcester*, *Shrewsbury*, *Stafford*, *Wolverhampton*, *Birmingham*, *Cambridge* and *St. Edmundsbury*, were about this time demolished, and where-ever the Lords in Arms came, the Papists were disarmed. And in *Norfolk* the Duke of *Norfolk*, their Lord Lieutenant, had a great appearance of the Gentry with him, where he and they declared for a Free Parliament, and the Protection of the Protestant Religion. This Meeting was at *Norwich* the first of *December*, and after that the same Declaration was renewed at *Yarmouth*, and *Lyn*, and the *Suffolk*-Men approved of it, but wanted a Lord Lieutenant to assemble and head them

that he made and governs the World.

That Civil Power and Authority is no otherwise from God, than as he gives this Power and Authority to some particular person or persons, to govern others: For Authority be-

*But how does
God give it him?
Perhaps, as he
gave you the Holy
Ghost.*

longs to a person, and that Power and Authority which any person exercises, is not from God, which God never gave him: If he governs without receiving his *Personal Authority* from God, he governs without God's Authority. *p. 10.*

There are but three *O Sapientia!* ways whereby God gives this Power and Authority to any persons: Either by Nature, or by an express Nomination, or by the disposals of Providence, *p. 11.*

Providence is God's Government of the world by an invisible influence and power, whereby he directs, determines, over-rules all Events to the accomplishment of his own Will and Counsels. *p. 12.*

Nor does it make any difference in this case, to distinguish between what God permits, and what he does; for this distinction does not relate to the Events of things, but to the wickedness of men. *p. 12.*

When it comes to action, he over-rules their wicked designs, to accomplish his own Counsels and Decrees; and either disappoints what they intended, or gives success to them, when he can serve the ends

them in order to the shewing their concurrence with safety.

11. *Bristol* was seized by the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and Sir *John Guse*; the Lord *Lovelace*, who had been seized as he was going to join the Prince, was by the Gentry of *Glocestershire* delivered out of the Castle of *Glocester*, where till then he had been imprisoned. The Lords *Molineux* and *Ashton* in the mean time seized *Chester* for the King, being *Roman Catholics*, and *Berwick* stood firm to him; but *Newcastle* received the Lord *Lumley*, and declared for a Free Parliament, and the Protestant Religion. *York* was in the hands of the Associated Lords: and the Garrison of *Hull* seized the Lord *Langdale* their Governour, a Papist, and the Lord *Montgomery*, and disarmed some Popish Forces newly sent thither; and then declared for a Free Parliament, and the Protestant Religion. And *Plimouth* had long before submitted to the Prince of *Orange*.

12. The Popish Party was grown so contemptible, that on *Thursday* the 6th of *December*, there was a Hue and Cry after Father *Peters*, publicly cried and sold in the Streets of *London*. And about the same time came out a Third Declaration in the Prince's name, but not emitted by him; which very much alarm'd the Popish Party, and as it is thought, contributed very much to the fixing and hastning the King's Resolution of leaving the Nation: It was read in many Towns throughout *England* at the Market-crofs, the People

ends of his Providence by their wickedness; and herein consists the unsearchable Wisdom of Providence, that God brings about his own Counsels, by the free Ministries of men: He permits men to do wickedly, but all Events which are for the good or evil of private men, or publick Societies, are ordered by him, as the Prophet declares, *Amos 3. 6. Shall there be evil in a city, and the Lord hath not done it? p. 12.*

If the advancement to the Throne invests such a Prince with God's Authority, then God gives him the Throne, and does not merely permit him to take it; for no man can take God's Authority, but it must be given. *p. 13.*

By what means soever any Prince ascends the Throne, he is placed there by God, and receives his Authority from him. *p. 13.*

Sometimes he suffers an aspiring Prince to invade and conquer a Countrey; but he never suffers him to ascend the Throne, but when he sees fit to make him King. *p. 13, 14.*

All Kings are equally rightful with respect to God; for those are all rightful Kings, who are placed in the Throne by God, and it is impossible there should be a wrong King, unless a man could make himself King, whether God will or no. *p. 14.*

The distinction then between a King *de jure*, and a King *de facto*, re-
The Doctor knows not when that Distinction was born, and when it died.
 late

People universally believing, till some time after the Princes coming to Town, that it was really publish'd by his Order, and no Counterfeit.

13. On *Sunday* the 9th of *December*, Count *Dada*, the Pope's Nuncio, and many others, departed from *White-hall*, and the next morning the Queen, the Child, and (as was said) Father *Peters*, crossed the Water to *Lambeth* in three Coaches, and with a strong Guard went to *Greenwich*, and so to *Graves-end*, where they embarked for *France*. It's supposed she carried the Seal from *White-hall*, and caus'd it to be thrown into the *Thames*; for on the 3d of *May* afterwards it was found in the bottom of the River by a Fisher-man in a Red-bag, between *Lambeth* and *Faux-hall*, and presented to the King.

Before this, the Marquiss of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, had been sent by the King and Council to treat with the Prince of *Orange*, and to adjust the Preliminaries in order to the holding of a Parliament, who the Eighth of *December* sent these Proposals to him.

S I R,

THE King commanded us to acquaint you, That he observeth all the differences and causes of Complaint alledged by your Highness, seem to be referred to a *Free Parliament*.

His Majesty, as he hath already declared, was resolved before this
to

lates only to Human Laws, which bind Subjects, but are not the necessary Rules and Measures of the Divine Providence. In Hereditary Kingdoms, he is a rightful King who has by Succession a legal Right to the Crown; and he who has possession of the Crown, without a legal Right, is a King *de facto*; that is, is a King, but not by Law: Now Subjects are so tied up by the Constitutions of the Kingdom, that they must not pull down or set up Kings contrary to the Laws of the Land; but God is not bound by Humane Laws, but can make whom he please King, without regard to legal Rights; and when he does so, they are true, though not legal Kings, if those are true Kings who have God's Authority.

Qui bene distinguit, bene docet.

I challenge the Doctor to quote any good Authority for

the Notion of a True King. A True and a False Prophet we know; but a True King is a Novelty.

We can have but one King at a time; two rival and opposite Princes cannot at the same time possess the same Throne, nor can Subjects be bound to two opposite and contrary Allegiances; for *no man can serve two masters*; and yet Allegiance is due to a King by the Laws of God, and to every King whose Subjects we are, that if we could have two Kings, we must have two Allegiances.

He is our King who is settled in the Throne in the actual Administration of Sovereign Power; for
King

to call one, but thought that in the present state of Affairs, it was advisable to defer it till things were more composed; yet seeing that his People still continue to desire it, he hath put forth his Proclamation in order to it, and hath issued forth his Writs for the Calling of it.

And to prevent any cause of Interruption in it, he will consent to every thing that can be reasonably required for the security of all those that come to it.

His Majesty hath therefore sent us to attend your Highness, for the adjusting of all Matters that shall be agreed to be necessary to the Freedom of Elections, and the Security of Sitting, and is ready to enter immediately into a Treaty in order to it.

His Majesty proposeth, That in the mean time the respective Armies may be retained within such Limits, and at such distance from London, as may prevent the Apprehensions that the Parliament may be in any kind disturbed, being desirous that the Meeting may be no longer delay'd, than it must be by the usual and necessary Forms.

Hungerford,
the 8th of
December,
1688.

Hallifax,
Nottingham,
Godolphin.

King is the Name of ^{Unde rivatur} Power and Authority, not of mere Right. He, King? who has a legal Right to the Crown, but has it not, ought by the Laws of the Land to be King, but is not: But he who is actually settled in the Administration of the Regal Power, is King, and has God's Authority, tho he have not a legal Right.

Allegiance is due only to the King; for Allegiance signifies all that Duty, which Subjects owe to their King, and therefore can be due to none but the King.

If then he who has the Legal Right, may not be our King, and he who has not, may; when any such case happens, we must pay our Allegiance to him who is King, tho without a Legal Right; not to him who is not our King, tho it is his Right to be so: And the reason is very plain, because Allegiance is due only to God's Authority, not to a bare Legal Title without God's Authority; and therefore must be paid to him who is invested with God's Authority, who is his Minister and Lieutenant; that is, to the Actual King, who is settled in the Throne, and has the Administration of Government in his hands.

Object. But if this be so, what does a Legal Right signifie, if it do not command the Allegiance of Subjects?

Answer. It bars all other Human Claims: No other Prince can

To this his Royal Highness the Prince of *Orange* return'd this Answer.

WE, with the Advice of the Lords and Gentlemen assembled with Us, have in Answer made these following Proposals.

I. That all Papists, and such Persons as are not qualified by Law, be Disarmed, Disbanded, and removed from all Employments Civil and Military.

II. That all Proclamations that reflect upon Us, or any that have come to Us, or declared for Us, be re-called; and that if any Persons, for having assisted Us, have been Committed, that they be forthwith set at Liberty.


III. That for the Security and Safety of the City of *London*, the Custody and Government of the *Tower* be immediately put into the Hands of the said City.

IV. That if His Majesty should think fit to be in *London*, during the Sitting of the Parliament, that We may be there also, with an equal number of our Guards; and if His Majesty shall be pleased to be in any place from *London*, whatever distance he thinks fit, that We may be the same distance, and that the respective Armies be from *London* forty Miles, and that no further Forces be brought into the Kingdom.

can challenge the Throne of Right; and Subjects are bound to maintain the Rights of such a Prince, as far as they can; that is, against all Mankind; but not against God's disposal of Crowns. *p. 15.*

We swear to maintain and defend his Right, and the Right of his Heirs; but yet we do not swear to keep them in the Throne, which may be impossible for us to do against a prosperous Rebellion. *p. 16.*

These seem to me, to be very plain *Propositions*, and to carry their own Evidence with them; and if this be true, it is a very plain Direction to Subjects in all the Revolutions of Government.

The most that can be expected from them, according to the strictest Principles of Loyalty and Obedience, is to have  no hand in such Revolutions, or to oppose them as far as they can, and not to be hasty and forward in their Compliances; but when such a Revolution is made, and they cannot help it; they must reverence and obey their New Prince, as invested with God's Authority. *p. 16.*

There are different degrees of Settlement, and must necessarily be in such new Governments, which seem to me to require different degrees of Submission, or at least to justify them, till it increases to such a full, and plenary, and settled Possession, as requires our Allegiance, as being notoriously evident

V. And that for the Security of the City of London, and their Trade, *Tilbury Fort* be put into the Hands of the City.

VI. That a sufficient part of the Publick Revenue be assigned Us, for the Support and Maintenance of our Troops, until the Sitting of a Free Parliament.

VII. That to prevent the landing of the *French*, or other Foreign Troops, *Portsmouth* may be put into such Hands, as by His Majesty and Us shall be agreed on.

Littlecot, Decemb. 9. 1688.

This Answer was sent to His Majesty on *Monday* the 10th of *December* by an Express; which when he received, he gave this Just Character of the Prince's Proposals, That they were fairer than he could, or did expect. So that he had no reason then to be afraid of his Person, but might have continued securely in his Palace, and taken care of the Government, and called such a Parliament, as both himself and the Prince desired; which might quietly and effectually have settled this Nation, and prevented all ill Consequences to his Person or Affairs. Yet he resolved to leave the Nation; and ordered all those Writs for the Sitting of the Parliament, that were not sent out, to be burnt, and a Caveat to be entred against the making use of those

dent and sensible to all that do not wink hard, and will not see it.

If the generality of the Nation submit to such a Prince, and place him on the Throne, and put the whole power of the Kingdom into his hands, though it may be, we cannot yet think the Providence of God has settled him in the Throne, while the dispossessed Prince has also such a formidable Power, as makes the Event very doubtful; yet if we think fit to continue in the Kingdom, under the Government and Power of the New Prince, there are several Duties, which in reason we ought to pay him.

As, To live quietly and peaceably under his Government, and to promise, or swear, or give any other security that we will do so, if it be demanded: It is reasonable we should do so, if we think it reasonable to live under the protection of the Government; this all men do in an Enemy's Quarters, and no man blames them for it.

We must pay Taxes to them; for these are due to the Administration of Government, as *Saint Paul* observes; *For this cause pay ye tribute also, for they are the ministers of God, attending continually on this very thing, Rom. 13. 6.* And if we owe our secure possession of our Estates to the protection of Government, let the Government be what it will, we ought to pay for it.

We

those that were sent down. And at the same time ordered the Earl of *Feverham* to disband the Army, and dismiss the Soldiers.


15. On *December* the 11th, about Three of the Clock in the Morning, the King went down the River in a small Boat towards *Gravesend*. The Principal Officers of the Army thereupon met about Ten of the Clock at *White-hall*, and sent an Express to the Prince of *Orange*, to acquaint him with the Departure of the King, and to assure him, that they would assist the Lord Mayor, to keep the City quiet till his Highness came, and made the Soldiers to enter into his Service.

16. The same day the Lords Spiritual and Temporal about the Town, (the then Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Ely*, and *Peterborough*, being of the number) came to *Guild-hall*, and sending for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, made the following Declaration.

The Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, Assembled at Guild-Hall the 11th of December. 1688.

WE doubt not but the World believes, that in this great and dangerous Conjunction we are heartily and zealously concerned for the Protestant Religion, the Laws of the Land, and the Liberties and Properties of the Subject. And we did reasonably hope, that the King having

We must give the Title of King to such a Prince, when we live in the Country where he is owned for King; for besides that, it is a piece of good manners (which is the least thing we can owe to him, under whose Government we live) he is indeed King, while he administers the Regal Power, though we may not think him so well settled in his Government, as to all intents and purposes to own him for our King.

Nay, we must pray for him under the Name and Title of King, for we are bound to pray for all who are in Authority; and that Prince is, who has the whole Government in his hands, and has power to do a great deal of hurt, or a great of good; and this is so far from being a fault, that it is a duty, while we take care to do it in such terms, as to not pray against the dis-  possessed Prince.

Thus far I think the doubtful possession of the Throne obliges us, and it were very happy if no more were required in the beginnings of such a new Government; but when, besides the possession of the Throne, the Power of the dispossessed Prince is broken; and no visible prospect of his recovering his Throne again; nay, if it be visible that he can never recover his Throne again, but by making a new Conquest of the Nation by Foreigners, who will be our Masters, if they conquer, and

having issued out his Proclamation and Writs for a Free Parliament, we might have rested secure under the expectation of that Meeting: But His Majesty having withdrawn himself, and, as we apprehend, in order to his departure out of this Kingdom, by the pernicious Counsels of persons ill affected to our Nation and Religion, we cannot, without being wanting to our Duty, be silent under those Calamities, wherein the Popish Counsels which so long prevailed, have miserably involved these Realms. We do therefore unanimously resolve to apply our selves to his Highness the Prince of Orange, who with so great Kindness to these Kingdoms, so vast Expence, and so much Hazard, hath undertaken, by endeavouring to procure a Free Parliament, to rescue us (with as little effusion of Christian Blood as possible) from the imminent Dangers of *Popery* and *Slavery*.

And we do hereby declare, That we will with our utmost Endeavours assist his Highness, in the obtaining such a Parliament with all speed, wherein our Laws, our Liberties and Properties may be secured, the Church of *England* in particular, with a due Liberty to Protestant Dissenters, and in general, the Protestant Religion and Interest, over the whole World, may be supported and encouraged, to the Glory of GOD, the Happiness of the Established Government in these Kingdoms, and the Advantage of all Princes.

and no very gentle ones neither; we may then look upon the new Prince as advanced and settled by God in his Throne, and therefore such a King, as we owe an entire Obedience and Allegiance to.

For we must not take the consideration of Right into the settlement of Government; for a Prince may be settled in his Throne without Legal Right; and when he is so, God has made him our King, and requires our Obedience. p. 17, 18.

The Scripture has given us no Directions in this Case, but to submit, and pay all the Obedience of Subjects to the present Powers. It makes no distinction, that ever I could find, between Rightful Kings and Usurpers, between Kings whom we must, and whom we must not obey; but the general Rule is, *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers, for all power is of God.* p. 18.

To say the *Apostle* here speaks of Lawful Power, is *gratis dictum*, for there is no Evidence of it: The Criticism between *Exoia* and *divinus* will not do; for they both signify the same thing in Scripture, either Force and Power, or Authority. p. 19.

When the *Apostle* says, *All power is of God*, there is no reason to confine this to the Legal Powers, unless it were evidently the Doctrine of Scri-

and States in *Christendom*, that may be herein concerned.

In the mean time we will endeavour to preserve, as much as in us lies, the Peace and Security of these great and populous Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and the parts adjacent, by taking care to disarm all Papists, and secure all Jesuits and *Romish* Priests, who are in or about the same.

And if there be any thing more to be performed by Us, for promoting his Highness's Generous Intentions for the publick good, we shall be ready to do it, as occasion requires.

Signed _____

W. Cant.
T. Ebor.
Pembrook.
Dorset.
Mulgrave.
Thanet.
Carlisle.
Craven.
Ailesbury.
Burlington.
Suffex.
Berkeley.
Rochester.
Newport.
Weymouth.

P. Winchester.
W. Asaph.
F. Ely.
Tho. Roffen.
Tho. Petriburg.
P. Wharton.
North and Grey.
Chandoir.
Montague.
T. Jermyn.
Vaughan Carbery.
Culpeper.
Crew.
Osulston.

Whereas his Majesty hath privately this Morning withdrawn himself, We the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, whose Names are hereunto Subscribed, being assembled in *Guildhall*,

Scripture, that *usurped Powers* are not of God, which is so far from being true, that the contrary is evident; *that the most high ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will*, 4 Dan. 17. which is spoke with reference to the *four Monarchies*, which were all as manifest Usurpations as ever were in the World, and yet set up by the Decree and Counsel of God, and foretold by a prophetick Spirit: and whoever will confine the Power and Authority of God, *in changing Times and Seasons, in removing Kings, and setting up Kings*, to Humane Laws, ought not to be disputed with. p. 20.

This I'm sure, The only direction of Scripture is to submit to those who are in Authority, who are in the actual administration of Government, to reverence and obey them, to pray for them, to pay Tribute to them, *as God's Ministers, attending continually upon this very thing*, and not to resist them; but there is not the least notice given us of any kind of Duty owing, or to be paid, to a Prince out of Authority, and removed from the Administration of Government, whatever his Right may be. p. 21.

The Prophecy of the *Four Monarchies* is not yet at an end; for under the *fourth* Monarchy the Kingdom of *Christ* was to be set up, and *Antichrist* was to appear, and the increase and destruction

hall in London, having agreed upon, and Signed a Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, assembled at Guild-hall the 11th of December, 1688. do desire the Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke, the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Wymouth, the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of Ely, and the Right Honourable the Lord Culpeper, forthwith to attend his Highness the Prince of Orange with the said Declaration, and at the same time to acquaint his Highness with what we have further done at this Meeting. Dated at Guild-hall the 11th of December, 1688.

The Lords, before they came down to the City, had appointed the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and the Common-Council, to be assembled, to concert with them the means of preserving the City and Kingdom; and when the Peers had thus led the way, they presently resolved also on the following Address to his Highness the Prince of Orange :

May it please Your Highness,

WE taking into consideration your Highness's fervent Zeal for the Protestant Religion, manifested to the World in your many hazardous Enterprises, wherein it hath pleased Almighty God to bless you with miraculous Success, do render our deepest thanks to the Divine

of the Kingdom of Antichrist is to be accomplished by great Changes and Revolutions in Humane Governments; and when God has declared, that he will change Times and Seasons, remove Kings, and set up Kings, to accomplish his own wise Counsels, it justifies our necessity, and therefore innocent compliances with such Revolutions, as much as if we were expressly commanded to do so, as the Jews were by the Prophet *Jeremiah*. This a man may say without Enthusiasm, or pretending to understand all the Prophecies of the Revelations, and to apply them to their particular events; for without that, we certainly know, that all the great Revolutions of the World are intended by God to serve those great Ends; and when God will overturn Kingdoms and Empires, remove, and set up Kings, as he sees will best serve the accomplishment of his own Counsels and Decrees, it is very hard, if Subjects must not quietly submit to such Revolutions: we must not, contrary to our sworn Duty and Allegiance, promote such Revolutions, upon a pretence of fulfilling Prophecies; but when they are made and settled, we ought to submit to them.

No, tho we be upon the point of losing our Laws and Liberties.

We have no direction in Scripture at all about making or unmaking Kings, or restoring a dispossessed Prince to his Throne again; and all the Commands we have in Scripture about Obedience and Subjection

vine Majesty for the same, and beg leave to present our most humble Thanks to your Highness, particularly for your appearing in Arms in this Kingdom, to carry on and perfect your glorious Designs to rescue *England, Scotland, and Ireland* from Slavery and Popery, and in a Free Parliament to establish the Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of these Kingdoms upon a sure and lasting Foundation.

We have hitherto look'd for some remedy for those Oppressions and imminent Dangers, which we, together with our Protestant Fellow-Subjects, laboured under, from his Majesties Concessions and Concurrences with your Highness's just and pious purposes expressed in your Gracious Declaration.

But herein finding our selves finally disappointed by his Majesties withdrawing himself, we presume to make your Highness our Refuge; and do in the Name of this Capital City, implore your Highness's Protection, and most humbly beseech your Highness to repair to this City, where your Highness will be received with universal Joy and Satisfaction.

This Address being approved and Signed, four Aldermen and eight Commoners were appointed to attend his Highness with it.

The same day the Lieutenantcy of London Signed this following Address to the Prince of Orange at
Guild-

jection to Government, manifestly respects the present Ruling Powers, without any distinction between right-ful and Usurped Powers; it seems therefore plainly to determin this Question on the side of the present Powers. p. 22, 23.

If the Choice and Consent of the people makes a Prince, then no man is a Subject, but he who consents to be so; for the Major Vote cannot include my consent, unless I please; that is the effect of Law and Compact, or Force, not of Nature. If Subjects give their Prince Authority, they may take it away again, if they please; there can be no irresistible Authority derived from the people; for if the Authority be wholly derived from them, who shall hinder them from taking it away, when they see fit?

Upon these Principles, there can be no Hereditary Monarchy; one Generation can only chuse for themselves, their Posterity having as much Right to chioe as they had. p. 24.

I cannot see where to fix the Foundation of Government, but in the Providence of God, who either by the choice of the major or stronger part of the people, or by Conquest, or by Submission, and the long successive continuance of power, or by Human Laws, gives a Prince and his Family possession of the Throne, which is a good Title against all Humane Claims, and requires the Obedience and Submission.

Let God Almighty turn Kingdoms topsie turvie, as he pleases, the Doctor will always fall upon his feet.

Guild-hall, and sent it by Sir Robert Clayton, Knight; Sir William Ruffel, Sir Basil Firebrace, Knights; and Charles Duncomb, Esquire.

May it please Your Highness,

WE can never sufficiently express the deep sense we have conceived, and shall ever retain in our Hearts, that your Highness has exposed your Person to so many Dangers by Sea and Land, for the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, without which unparallel'd Undertaking, we must probably have suffered all the Miseries that Popery and Slavery could have brought upon us.

We have been greatly concerned, that before this time we had not any seasonable opportunity to give your Highness and the World a real Testimony, That it has been our firm Resolution, to venture all that is dear to us, to attain those glorious Ends which your Highness has propos'd for restoring and settling these distracted Nations.

We therefore now unanimously present to your Highness our just and due acknowledgments for that happy Relief you have brought to us; and that we may not be wanting in this present Conjunction, we have put our selves into such a posture, that (by the blessing of God) we may be capable to prevent all ill Designs, and to preserve this City in Peace and Safety, till your Highness's happy Arrival.

We

tion of Subjects as long as God is pleased to continue him and his Family in the Throne; but it is no Title against God, if he please to advance another Prince. p. 24.

To say that God sets up no Prince, who ascends the Throne without a Humane and Legal Right, is to say, that some Kings are removed, and others set up, but not by God; which is a direct contradiction to Scripture; it is to say, That the *Four Monarchies* were not set up by God, because they all began by Violence and Usurpation: It is to say, That God, as well as men, is confined by Humane Laws, in making Kings: It is to say, That the Right of Government is not derived from God, without the consent of the people; for if God can't make a King without the people, or against their consent declared by their Laws, the Authority must be derived from the people, not from God; or at least if it be God's Authority, yet God can't give it himself without the people, nor otherwise than they have directed him by their Laws.

This is all very absurd.

So's all the rest of your Book, Sir.

The Providence of God removes Kings, and sets up Kings, but alters no Legal Right, nor forbids those who are dispossessed of them, to recover their Right, when they can. While such a Prince is in the Throne, it is a declaration of God's Will, that he shall Reign for some

We therefore humbly desire, that your Highness will please to repair to this City with what convenient speed you can, for the perfecting the Great Work which your Highness has so happily begun, to the general joy and satisfaction of us all.

17. After his Highness had received certain Intelligence that the King was gone back from Salisbury to London, he came forward by easie Journeys, and entred Salisbury on Tuesday the 4th of December. On the 5th, the Earl of Oxford came thither to him. The same day the Lord Herbert of Cheshire, and Sir Edward Harley, and most of the Gentry of Worcester-shire and Herefordshire, met at Worcester, and declared for the Prince of Orange. Ludlow Castle was also taken in for him by the Lord Herbert and Sir Walter Blunt, and the Popish Sheriff of Worcester secured in it by that Peer. The 7th of December his Highness came on to Hungerford; the 8th, the Lords sent by the King, came thither to him, and had the Dispatch already mentioned: after Dinner he went to Lidcot. The 14th, The Commissioners of the Peers, Common-Council, and Lieutenancy of London, presented three Addresses to the Prince at Henly. The 15th his Highness entred Windsor.

18. The King was stopt in his passage by some who knew him not, but seiz'd him and his Company as suspected Jesuits, &c. but being at last

some time, longer or shorter, as God pleases; and that is an obligation to Subjects to submit and obey; for Submission is owing only to God's Authority; but that one Prince is at present placed in the Throne, and the other removed out of it, does not prove, that it is God's Will it should always be so, and therefore does not divest the dispossessed Prince to recover his Legal Right: *A Legal and Successive Right is the ordinary way whereby the Providence of God advances Princes to an Hereditary Throne: And this bars all other humane Claims; but yet God may give the Throne to another, if he pleases; and this does not destroy the Legal Right of the dispossessed Prince, nor hinder him from claiming it, when he finds his opportunity.* p. 26.

It is a great Question, which I am not Lawyer enough to decide; Whether a Commission granted by a King out of Possession, be a Legal Commission? p. 31.

Why, 'tis a Legal Commission, but it has not the Authority of God.

Oaths oblige every particular man to do no injury to the King's Person or Crown, not to enter into Plots and Conspiracies against him; and as for actual defence, chearfully to venture his Life and Fortunes with his Fellow-subjects to preserve the King. But in case the great Body of the Nation absolve themselves from these Oaths, and depose their King, and drive him out of his Kingdom, and set up another Prince

last discovered, and the noise of his being detained at *Feversham* coming to the Lords at *London*, the Lords *Feversham*, *Aylesbury*, *Tarmouth* and *Middleton* were sent to entreat his return to *White-hall*: whither he came on the 16th in the Evening. But in the mean time the Rabble at *London* demolished the Popish Chappel and Convent at *St. John's*, the Convent and Chappel of Fryars in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, and the Popish Chappels in *Limestreet* and *Bucklers-Bury*, and the Chappel at *Wild-house*.

19. The King being now at *White-hall*, and the Prince at *Windsor*, the King invites the Prince to *St. James's*; but the Lords at *Windsor* did not think it reasonable, nor safe, either for the King's or the Prince's person to be together in one place with their several Guards. Whereupon the Guards at *White-hall* were dislodged by Count *Solmes*, by the Prince's order, and the Prince's Guards placed in their room. And the King was that same night, being the 17th of *December*, desired by a Message from the Prince to remove to some place at a reasonable distance from *London*, and *Ham* was proposed. But the King chose to return into *Kent*, which he did the next day: and got away privately from the Guards, and embark'd for *France*. The same day that the King withdrew from *White-hall* the second time, the Prince of *Orange* came to *St. James's*, attended by Monsieur *Schomberg*, and a great number

in his room, it is worth considering, Whether some private men, it may be but a little handful, are still bound by their Oath, to make some weak and dangerous attempts, and to fight for their King against their Countrey; certainly this was not the intention of the Oath; for it is a National, not a private Defence, we swear; and therefore a general revolt of a Nation, tho it should be wicked and unjustifiable, yet it seems to excuse those, who had neither hand nor heart in it, from their sworn defence of the King's Person and Crown, and to make their compliance with the National Government, innocent and necessary. For an Oath to fight for the King, does not oblige us to fight against our Countrey, which is as unnatural, as to fight against our King. The sum is this; God, when he sees fit, can remove Kings, or set up Kings, without any regard to humane Right, as being the Sovereign Lord of the World, who rules in the Kingdoms of Men, and giveth them to whomsoever he will; but Subjects, in setting up, or removing Kings, must have regard to Legal Right; and if they pull down a rightful King, and set up a King without right, (unless the Constitution of the Government in some cases should allow it) greatly sin in it, especially when they have sworn the defence of the Legal Right, and Legal Succession; but the Duty and Allegiance of Subjects does not immediately respect Right, but the actual Administration of Government,

number of Nobility and Gentry, and was entertain'd with a joy and concourse of the People, which appear'd free and unconstrain'd, and all the Bells of the City were rung, and Bonfires in every Street.

Thus the body of the People being uneasie under the Late King's Government, and not thinking it either their Interest, or their Duty, to support him in it, who had made use of his Authority only to carry on an Interest inconsistent with the welfare of a Protestant Nation, and that by all the Illegal Methods that his Evil Counsellors could advise, or durst put in execution; and who, to awe the People from giving any check to his Career, had not only Judges at hand, that would wrest the Law to serve his Ends, without any regard to their Oaths, or the trust of their Places; but had raised an Army in times of Peace, directly against Law, and in effect had thereby waged war against his own Subjects: The People, I say, being thus affected, either actually join'd with the Prince, or openly declared for him, or testified by other demonstrations their joy for his arrival, and interposing betwixt them and utter ruine. Whereupon the King was left to shift for himself, and flew for protection to his old Ally, the Enemy of God and Man.

ment, when there is a settled Government in a Nation; for that is God's Authority, which much be obeyed; no man must swear away this, no more than any other part of his Duty; and no man does swear away this by the Oath of Allegiance, as I have already shewn. p. 31, 32.

Object. But have not Pyrates and Robbers as good a Title to my Purse, as an Usurper has to the Crown, which he seizes by as manifest force and violence?

Ans. The Outrages of Thieves and Pyrates are very impertinently alledged in this Cause. They have force and violence, which every man must submit to, when he cannot help it; but Sovereign Power is God's Authority, tho Princes may be advanced to it by no honest means than Thieves take a Purse, or break open my House, and take my Money or Goods. The beginnings of the Four Monarchies were no better, and yet their Power was God's. p. 34.

This Doctrine of Obedience and Allegiance to Gen. 49. 14. the present Powers, is founded on the same Principle with the Doctrine of Non-Resistance and Passive-Obedience, and therefore both must be true, or both false; for it is founded on this Principle, That God makes Kings, and invests them with his Authority; which equally proves, That all Kings, who have received a Sovereign Authority from God,

The first thing the Prince did when come to Town, after he had


had received the Congratulations of the City by all the Aldermen, and two Common-Council-men for every Ward, and taken care about the Army, was to desire the Advice of such Lords as were in or about the Town, and of such Gentlemen as had served in any Parliament in the Reign of the Late King Charles, what course to take for the settlement of the Nation.

These advised him to take upon himself the Administration of publick Affairs, Civil and Military, and the disposal of the Publick Revenue, and to issue out Circular Letters for the calling a Convention to meet and sit at *Westminster* on the 22d of *January* next ensuing.

Which was done accordingly, and the Elections went on with the greatest liberty that could possibly be conceived.

The Two Houses met the 22d of *January*, and the Upper House chose the Marquess of *Halifax* for their Speaker; and the Commons, *Henry Pownall*, Esq;. After which a Letter from the Prince of *Orange* was read to them, Exhorting them to unity, and speed in their Consultations.

The Houses ordered the 31st of *January* to be appointed for a day of Publick Thanksgiving to Almighty God for delivering this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power by means of his Highness the Prince of *Orange*. That Day to be observed in *London* and *Westminster*,

and are in the actual administration of it (which is the only evidence we have, that they have received it from God) must be obeyed, and must not be resisted. *Set aside this Principle, That all Sovereign Princes receive their Authority from God, and I grant that Non-Resistance is Nonsense; for there is no other irresistible Authority, but that of God.* 
p. 36.

These Principles answer all the ends of Government, both for the security of the Prince and Subjects; and that is a good Argument to believe them true.

A Prince who is in Possession, is secured in Possession by them, (as far as any Principles can secure him) against all Attempts of his Subjects, who must reverence God's Authority in him; and submit to him without Resistance, tho they are ill used.

They will not indeed serve the Revolutions of Government, to remove one King, and set up another; and if they would, Princes might be jealous of them; for whatever Service they might do them at one turn, they might do them as great Disservice at another: The Revolutions of Government are not the Subjects Duty, but God's Prerogative; and therefore it is not likely that he has prescribed any certain Rules or Methods for the overturning and changing Government, which he keeps in his own hands, and which when he sees fit to do

Westminster, and ten miles distance; and the 14th of February after throughout the Kingdom.

On the 28th of January the Commons passed this Vote; viz. *Resolved, That King James the II^d having endeavoured to subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom by breaking the Original Contract between King and People; and by the Advice of Jesuits, and other wicked persons, having violated the Fundamental Laws, and having withdrawn himself out of this Kingdom, hath abdicated the Government, and that the Throne is thereby become Vacant.*

On the 6th of February the Lords assented to the Vote.

It will not be material to give a particular Account of the Debates and Conferences that arose, and were occasioned by this and other Votes of the Commons; I hasten to the Conclusion, which was, That on the 12th of February the Two Houses fully agreed all things in dispute betwixt them on this manner; viz.

The Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons Asssembled at Westminster.

WHereas the late King James the Second, by the Assistance of divers Evil Counsellors, Judges and Ministers employ'd by him, did endeavour to subject and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.

By assuming and exercising a power of Dispensing with, and suspending

do it, he never wants ways and means of doing.

But when any Prince is settled in the Throne, by what means soever it be, these Principles put an end to all disputes of Right and Title, and bind his Subjects to him by Duty and Conscience, and a Reverence of God's Authority; which is the fastest hold he can possibly have of them; for those whom Religion will not bind, nothing but Force can.

No; Interest is the fastest hold in these cases.

And therefore these are the only principles which in such Revolutions can make Government easie both to Prince and People; and if Government must be preserved in all Revolutions, those are the best Principles which are most for the ease and safety of it.

But on the other hand, such an immoveable and unalterable Allegiance, as is thought due only to a Legal Right and Title, and must be paid to none, but to a Legal and Rightful Prince, serves no ends of Government at all; but overturns all Government, when such a Prince is dispossessed of his Throne, how long soever he continue dispossessed: And what long *Inter-regnums* may this occasion, to the dissolution of Human Societies? p. 43, 44.

I cannot indeed think (neither do I believe, that any body else does) that for a King to leave his Crown and Government in a fright, is in all cases necessarily to be interpreted such an Abdication as is equivalent to

ding of Laws, and the Execution of Laws, without consent of Parliament.

By committing and prosecuting divers worthy Prelates, for humbly Petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said Assumed Power.

By issuing and causing to be executed a Commission under the Great Seal, for erecting a Court, call'd *The Court of Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs*.

By Levying Money for, and to the use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the same was granted by Parliament.

By raising and keeping a standing Army within the Kingdom in time of Peace, without consent of Parliament; and Quartering Soldiers contrary to Law.

By causing several good Subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when Papists were both Armed and employed contrary to Law.

By violating the Freedom of Elections of Members to serve in Parliament.

By Prosecutions in the Court of *King's Bench*, for Matters and Causes cognizable only in Parliament, and by divers other Arbitrary and Illegal Courses.

And whereas of late Years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified Persons have been returned and served on Juries in Trials, and particularly divers Jurors in Trials High-

to a voluntary Resignation; whereby he renounces all future Right and Claim to it. But if he have reduced himself to such a state, that he is forced for his own preservation to leave his Kingdom and Government; it is plain, that in some sense he leaves his Throne vacant too; that is, there is no body in it, no body in the actual Administration of the Government.

Thus far I think Subjects may be very guiltless, who do not drive the King away, but only suffer him quietly to escape out of his Kingdoms; for this is no *Rebellion*, no *Resistance*, but only *Non-Assistance*, which may be very innocent; for there are some cases wherein Subjects are not bound to assist their Prince; and if ever there were such a Case, this was it.

What then shall Subjects do, when the King is gone, and the Government Dissolved, the people left in the Hands of another Prince, without any Reason, or any Authority, or any formed Power, to oppose him? The Government must be Administred by some-body, unless we can be contented that the Rabble should govern.

But I shall not meddle with that Interval between the going away of the King, and the Prince's coming to the Throne; but only consider him as placed in the Throne, and

High-Treason, which were not Free-holders.

And Excessive Bail hath been required of Persons committed in Criminal Cases, to elude the Benefit of the Laws made for the Liberty of the Subject.

And Excessive Fines have been imposed.

And Illegal and cruel Punishments inflicted.


And several Grants and Promises made of Fines and Forfeitures, before any Conviction or Judgment against the Persons upon whom the same were to be levied.

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws and Statutes, and Freedom of this Realm.

And whereas the late King *James* the Second, having *abdicated* the Government, and the Throne being thereby *vacant*.

His Highness the Prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the Glorious Instrument of Delivering this Kingdom from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*) did (by the Advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers principal Persons of the Commons) cause Letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Protestants, and other Letters to the several Counties, Cities, Universities, Burroughs, Cinque-Ports for the chusing of such Persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at *Westminster* upon the 22d day of

and settled there. And now we can find no alteration in the Ancient Government of the Nation, but only the exchange of persons; and all things concur to make this a very advantageous and acceptable Change, excepting such difficulties, as usually accompany such Revolutions. p. 49, 50.

Legal Rights must be determined by a Legal Authority; and there is no Authority can take Cognizance of the Titles and Claims of Princes, and the disposal of the Crown, but the *Estates* of the Realm: *They indeed are obliged to take notice of the legal Descent of the Crown; and if through*  *mistake, or any other cause, they set the Crown upon a wrong Head, they must answer for it; but private Subjects, who have no legal Cognizance of the matter, are bound by no Law, that I know of, to disown a King whom the Estates have owned, though they should think the Right is in another.* p. 52, 53.

Hitherto have been displayed the Principles of some of our Heavenly Guides, with respect to our Present Settlement.

of *January*, 1688, in order to such an Establishment, as that their Religion, Laws and Liberties, might not again be in danger of being subverted; upon which Letters Elections have been accordingly made.

And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their Respective Letters and Elections, being now Assembled in a full and Free Representative of this Nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the Ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their Ancestors in like case have usually done) for the vindicating and asserting their Ancient Rights and Liberties, declare,

That the pretended Power of suspending of Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by Regal Authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal.

That the pretended Power of Dispensing with Laws, or the execution of Laws by Regal Authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

That the Commission for erecting the late *Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes*, and all other Commissions and Courts of the like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

That Levying of Money to, or for the use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in other manner, than the same is, or shall be Granted, is illegal.

That

The Conclusion of the whole matter take in the Words of a Worthy Divine, lately delivered in a Sermon before the House of Commons, viz.

WE may safely conclude from the late Deliverance which we have found, and the Success wherewith it has been attended since, 1. That God has signally manifested his favour to this our Church. And 2. That the King is the Instrument whereby he has conferr'd this Favour on us. And from hence there arises a twofold Duty upon us:

1. That we should have a regard and reverence for the Church.

2. That we should pay Honour and Obedience to the King. And,

1. How great a veneration and esteem do we justly owe to that Church, which first rescued us from the Tyranny of the *Roman Yoke*; recovered the pure Word of God from their usurpation and disguise, and instated us in the true light of the Gospel! A Church, which for the purity of her Faith, and the Regularity of her Institution, has ever since stood the Envy, and endured the brunt of *Antichrist*; and has so many miraculous deliverances to shew, that God has espoused her Cause.

That it is the Right of the Subjects to Petition the King, and all Commitments and Prosecutions for such Petitioning are illegal.

That the raising or keeping a standing Army within the Kingdom in time of Peace, unless it be by consent of Parliament, is against Law.

That the Subjects being Protestants, may have Arms for their Defence suitable to their condition, and as allowed by Law.

That the Election of Members of Parliament ought to be Free.

That the freedom of Speech, and Debates, or Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any Court, or Place out of Parliament.

That Excessive Bail ought not to be required, nor Excessive Fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual Punishments inflicted.

That Jurors ought to be duly Impannell'd and Returned, and Jurors which pass upon men in Trials for High-Treason ought to be Freeholders.

That all Grants and Promises of Fines and Forfeitures of particular persons before Conviction, are illegal and void.

And that for Redress of all Grievances; and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the Laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the Promises, as their undoubted Rights and

Cause. We have heard with our Ears, and our Fathers have declar'd unto us, the Wonders which he did for her in their days, *and our own eyes also have seen the salvation of God.* How he rescued us from an implacable ravenous Herd of Men, who had nothing but numbers to entitle them to a Catholick Church, and with those numbers they design'd to over-power the Truth; with those Wolves they thought to have worry'd this little Flock: Against us alone they bent all their Rage, and whet their Teeth in the late unhappy Reign; and when their small stock of Arguments was spent, they prepar'd for another kind of onset. But *God deliver'd us from all the expectation of the Romans, and shew'd, that it was not their Church, but ours, that is founded upon that Rock: And I wish all they that are still projecting to overturn it, would for their own security consider this, That no weapon* *What do you think of Oliver prosper'd yet, that his sword ever Crum- well?* *been lifted up against it.*

And now for any of us to question the honesty of our Mother-Church, which we have seen attested by so many unquestionable Proofs, by all the demonstration that the nature of the thing will bear, must be something more than Ignorance, something that I am loath to name. *To forsake this guide of our youth, who never deserted us in any times of difficulty, never consulted*


and Liberties; and that no Declarations, Judgments, Doings, or Proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said Premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into Consequence or Example.

To which demand of their Rights, they are particularly encouraged by the Declaration of his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, as being the only means for obtaining a full Redress and Remedy therein.

Having therefore an intire Confidence, that his said Highness the Prince of *Orange* will perfect the Deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their Rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other Attempts upon their Religion, Rights and Liberties;

The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled at *Westminster*, do Resolve,

That *WILLIAM* and *MARY*, Prince and Princess of *Orange* be, and be declared King and Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the Crown and Royal Dignity of the said Kingdoms and Dominions, to them the said Prince and Princess during their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the Regal Power be only in, and executed by the said Prince of *Orange*, in the Names of the said Prince and Princess

her own safety when she saw her Sons in danger,  but boldly oppos'd every Enemy, and stood in every breach: for us, I say, to desert her upon any score, is such vile ingratitude, as hardly can be parallel'd, but can never be excus'd. *What iniquity have your fathers found in me, said God, that ye should forsake me, and follow after other gods.* A very serious Expostulation! a most pathetic Complaint!

And the same thing may be said in behalf of our native Church. What is there in this our way of Worship that can justly give offence? What is there in the substance that the godliest Man can scruple, or the wisest Man can mend? What Supplication or Prayer can be made, for any Blessings, or any Grant, of which our humane nature stands in need,

A Prayer for honest Clergy-men would do well to be added.

that is not daily and decently offer'd up to God from this our House of Prayer? What Portion of God's Holy Word is there that is not here duly read, and, I hope, faithfully explain'd unto you? What Christian Doctrine have we conceal'd from you, or when have we taught you for Doctrine, the Commandments of men? Where have we defrauded you of that which is the Word of God, or impos'd upon you that which is not?

When ye coin'd new Articles of Faith, and obtruded them upon us Jure Divino.

Princes during their joynt Lives; and after their Deceases, the said Crown and Royal Dignity of the said Kingdoms and Dominions to be to the Heirs of the Body of the said Princess; and for default of such Issue, to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the Heirs of her Body; and for default of such Issue, to the Heirs of the Body of the said Prince of Orange.

And the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do pray the said Prince and Princess of Orange, to accept the same accordingly.

And that the Oaths hereafter mentioned, be taken by all persons of whom the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* might be required by Law instead of them; and that the said Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* be abrogated.

I A. B. do sincerely Promise and Swear, That I will be Faithful, and bear true Allegiance to Their Majesties King WILLIAM and Queen MARY.

So help me God.

I A. B. Do Swear, That I do from my Heart Abhor, Detest, and Abjure, as Impious and Heretical, this Damnable Doctrine and Position, That Princes Excommunicated or Deprived by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare,

If any of these Charges can be made out, then we will willingly bear the blame till there is a Reformation; but if they cannot be prov'd upon us, as I am certain that they can't; if our Church has constantly discharg'd the duty of a careful Mother, then well may she expect from us the obedience of Sons; or else cry out upon our disobedience, *What iniquity have you or your fathers found in me?*

God knows they can.

In the mean while, I wish every man would conscientiously consider this, That a needless Separation is very far from being an indifferent harmless thing; and therefore they whose Consciences will give them leave to communicate with us at some times, I know not how they can excuse themselves for not doing always so; for certainly Union is so positive a Command of God, and the want of it is of so pernicious consequence to the Souls of men, that nothing but absolute necessity can give us a dispensation; nothing can justify us for breaking the Unity of the Church, but when the terms of Communion are utterly unlawful; if any man thinks that our terms are such, they have their liberty; and we have ours; and so I hope there may be Charity, although there is not Union amongst us; and therefore leaving every man freely to his own way, as he will answer it to God, who cannot be deceiv'd, as well as to his own Conscience, which can;

declare, That no Foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Prebeminence or Authority Ecclesiastical or Spiritual within this Realm.

So help me God.

Jo. Brown, Cler. Parliamentor.

The same day this Declaration bears date, Her Royal Highness the Princess of Orange arrived in the River of *Thames* in the Afternoon, and was received with all the Heartly Demonstrations and Expressions of Joy by the City, that are usual on such occasions.

The 13th of *February*, the Lords and Commons ordered the following Proclamation to be published and made.

WHereas it hath pleased Almighty God in his great Mercy to this Kingdom, to vouchsafe us a miraculous Deliverance from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*; and that our Preservation is due, next under God, to the Resolution and Conduct of his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, whom God hath chosen to be the Glorious Instrument of such an inestimable Happiness to us and our Posterity: And being highly sensible, and fully persuaded of the great and eminent Virtues of Her Highness the Princess of *Orange*, whose Zeal for the Protestant Religion, will no doubt bring a Blessing along with Her up-

can; let us proceed to the last thing propos'd, wherein I hope we do all agree; and that is, in paying Homage and Obedience to our Sovereign; and that not only upon a Civil, but also upon a Sacred account; not only for wrath, but for Conscience sake. Kings are the only Persons upon Earth unto whom God has given an immediate delegation of his Authority; whom to obey, is to obey his Ordinance; and whom to resist, is to resist his Power: And whosoever denies Obedience to be a religious duty, takes away from the King the fairest Jewel in his Crown, and the strongest Fortrefs in his Dominion.

Civil and Sacred must be distinguished.

But this is a Doctrine that has been so frequently discuss'd of late; so learnedly demonstrated, and so undeniably establish'd amongst us, that there is no need to insist upon it now. Only give me leave to say, That notwithstanding the unreasonable Cavils of gainsaying men, yet *Passive Obedience* always was, and I hope always will be, the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of *England*. I am sure 'tis a Doctrine of which no Church need to be ashamed, and no King can be afraid: And to this I shall only add, That all that Obedience which the Scripture requires us to pay unto the King, we must now look upon as devolv'd upon Their present Majesties, and properly belonging to Their Claim. The powers that are (saith the Apostle) are ordained of God; and upon that account they justly challenge our

on this Nation. And whereas the Lords and Commons now assembled at *Westminster*, have made a Declaration, and presented the same to the said Prince and Princess of *Orange*, and therein desired Them to accept the Crown; who have accepted the same accordingly. We therefore the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, together with the Lord Mayor and Citizens of *London*, and others of the Commons of this Realm, do with full consent publish and proclaim, according to the said Declaration, *WILLIAM* and *MARY*, Prince and Princess of *ORANGE*, to be KING and QUEEN of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, with all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging: Who are accordingly so to be owned, deemed, and taken, by all the people of the aforesaid Realms and Dominions, who are from hence-forward bound to acknowledge, and pay unto them, all Faith and true Allegiance; Beseeching God, by whom Kings reign, to Bless King *William* and Queen *Mary*, with long and happy Years to reign over us.

God save King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

John Brown, Clericus Parliamentorum.

The 15th of *February*, the Lords and Commons ordered, That His Majesties most gracious Answer this day, be added to the Engrossed Declaration in Parchment, to be enroll'd in Parliament and Chancery; which is as followeth.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THIS is certainly the greatest proof of the Trust you have in Us, that can be given, which is the thing that maketh Us value it the more; and We thankfully accept what you have offered. And as I had no other intention in my coming hither, than to preserve Your Religion, Laws and Liberties: So you may be sure, that I shall endeavour to support them, and shall be willing to concur in any thing that shall be for the Good of the Kingdom, and to do all that is in my Power to advance the Welfare and Glory of the Nation.

Thus

our submission. And in this point, tho I must not say with *St. Paul*, that I think I have the Spirit of God; yet I dare say, that I have the Spirit of that Church in which I was born and bred. And I dare say no more: For Crowns and Scepters are very nice, curious things; something a-kin to the Ark of God; they must be handled with Ceremony: and tho we approach them with never so much respect, yet by an unskillful touch, we may easily offend; and 'tis a trespass upon Majesty to come too near it.

You mean of a great many of your Churchmen: the Spirit of your Church, you understand not.

Thus ended that stupendious Revolution in *England*, which we have so lately seen; to the great Joy of the Generality of the Protestants of *Europe*, and of many of the Catholick Princes and States, who were at last convinced, that the attempting to force *England*, to return under the Obedience of the See of *Rome* in the present conjuncture of Affairs, would certainly end in the Ruin of this potent Kingdom; and whilst it was doing, the present *French King* would possess himself of the Remainder of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and the *Palatinate*, and perhaps of the Electorates of *Cologne*, *Mentz*, and *Triers*, a great part of which he hath actually seized, whilst the Prince of *Orange* was thus gloriously asserting the *English Liberty*.

The Convention having declared the King and Queen, as aforesaid, proceeded to Declare themselves a Parliament, to settle the Coronation-Oath, to Repeal that Clause in an Oath and Declaration, *That it is unlawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to Take up Arms against the King, or those Commissioned by him*; To revive the Administration of the Law, which had been interrupted; and therein they particularly Enact, That Indictments, &c. for Offences committed betwixt the 11th. of December, and the 13th of Feb. 1688, should run, *Contra Pacem Regni*.

And by the First Act of this present Parliament, *The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, did Recognize and Acknowledge, That their Majesties were, and of Right ought to be, by the Laws of this Realm, their Sovereign Liege Lord and Lady, King and Queen of England, &c.*

And by the same Act it was enacted, *That all and singular the Acts made and Enacted by the last Parliament, were and are the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom, and as such ought to be reputed, taken, and obeyed by all the people of the same.*

God save King WILLIAM and Queen MARY.

F I N I S.

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